

A
S U M M A R Y,
O F Certain P A P E R S
About the
Woollen-Manufacture,
VIZ.

1st. ENGLANDS INTEREST *in Securing
the Manufacture of this Realm, against the Artifices
and Designs of FRANCE.*

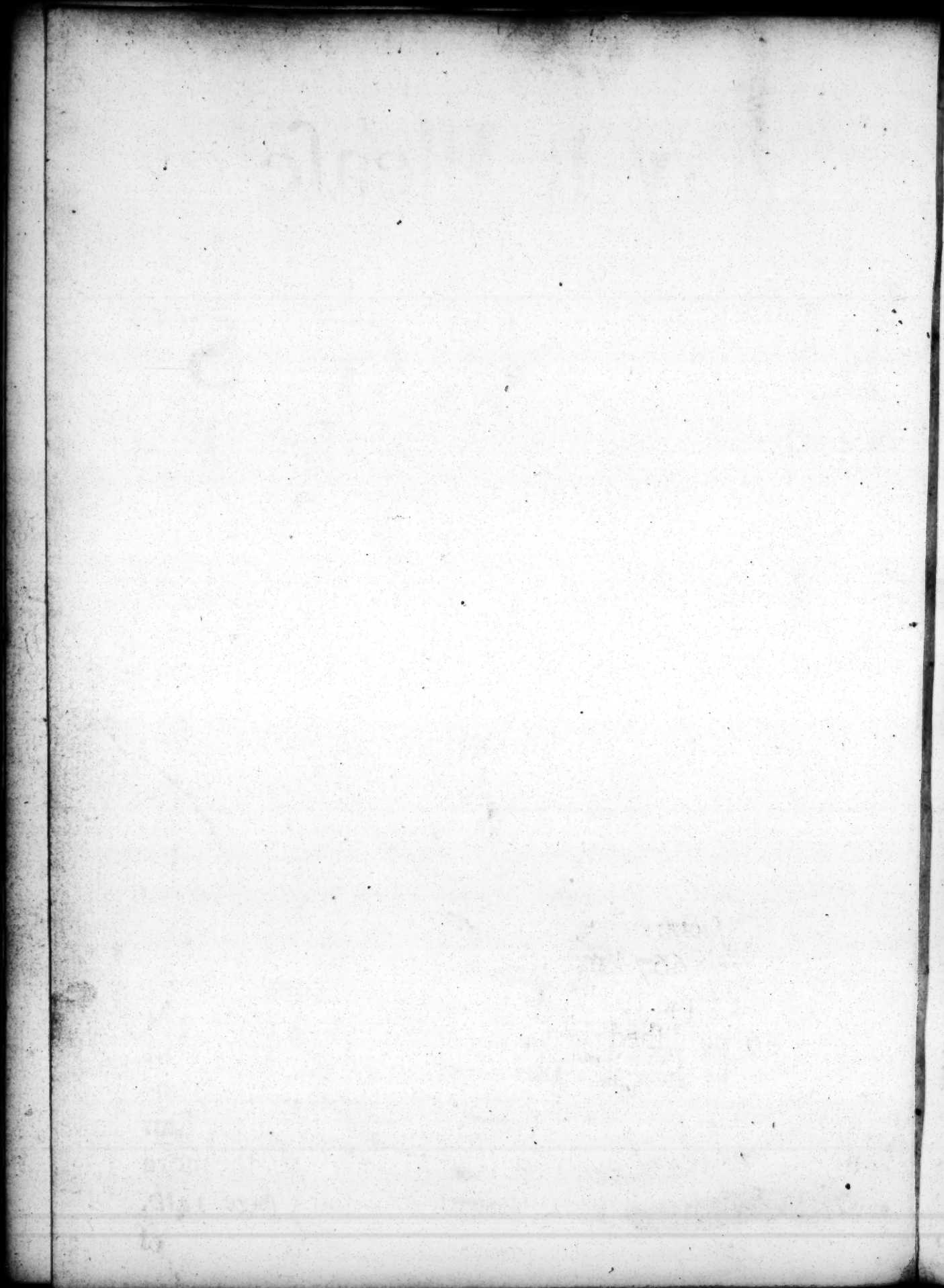
2^{ly}. A REPLY, to a Paper Intituled REASONS
*for a Limited Exportation of Wooll; as Objections
against ENGLANDS INTEREST.*

3^{ly}. AN ABSTRACT of some Proceedings, to
Prevent the said Exportation of Wooll.

*To which is added a Former Discourse, (by the same Author)
on that Subject ; Printed in the Year 1669.*

By W I L L I A M C A R T E R.

L O N D O N, Printed by J Streater, for the Author
Anno. Dom. MDCLXXXIX.



May it Please

T H E

K I N G ' S
M O S T E X C E L L E N T
M A J E S T Y .

TH E Subject Matter of these following Sheets, I do, in all humility presume to Address Your Majesty with; it being an Account of the Rise, Growth, and Perfection of the Trade of this your Majesties Kingdom, by the *Woollen-Manufacture* thereof: by which Means its Riches and Strength by Navigation, came greatly to increase; which greatness of our Trade, and the strength of our Shipping was observed and forthwith Emulated by the *French King*; who having obtained great quantities of our Wooll, endeavoured also to gain the *Manufacture* thereof from us.

In the Year 1667 I made some Discoveries of it, and presented the same to the Parliament then sitting; and in the Year 69 published the same in Print, which is hereunto annexed, in the end. I have now contracted the sum of it into a Sheet and half, that Your Majesty may the more easily see, by what Steps I then made it appear (page 141b.
of

of that Discourse ~~that~~ the Loss England sustained by
the Exportation of Wooll, was not less than one Million of
Pounds Ster. p. An. and the loss to the Crown about one
hundred Thousand Pound p. An. Expedient
Which Discovery being the result of my two Years
observations, made with much Pains and Industry, about
Twenty Years since; according to the best Informations
and Observations I have been able to procure or make,
the loss may now be supposed at least double if not treble
the sum: and this almost wholly through the French En-
croachments upon our Woollen-Manufacture, by means of the
Exportation of our Wooll, which hath been the Principal cause
of their growing so Great and Powerful at Sea. This I
have endeavoured, for above Twenty Years past to pre-
vent, with my utmost Diligence, great Expence of Mony,
and frequent hazard of my Life; (without any private de-
signs) one instance whereof, being within a few Months
past, I shall mention, (contained in page 22. 23. and 24.
of the Abstract of my Proceedings for Preventing the
Exportation of Wooll. 233: 109 August

I have also added a Reply to such Objections as were
printed against that Discourse, by some Favourers of the
French Interest.

After several of my Proceedings, mentioned from p. 1st.
to 10th. of the said Abstract, I did Petition the Late King in
July 1685, for two Sloops, to be set out to Prevent the said
Exportation; which Vessels being fitted and directed to be
under my care, there were about twenty French Shallops,
and near three hundred Baggs of Wooll taken and condemn-
ed,

ed, in little more than One Years time; whereas in Ten Years before there were not five Vessels taken & condemned. I also exhibited several Informations in the Court of Exchequer, against the Persons of the Exporters themselves, and have convicted some of them: and in pursuance of a Commission from the said King, dated the 28th of June 1688, I fitted out two Vessels more to attend the Sea Coast, and some Persons at Land; whereby some further stop was then made to the said Exportation. And since I have discovered near 40 of the Exporters, and Indicted some of them at the last Assizes in Kent and Sussex. All which is more at large inserted in the following Discourse, and humbly submitted to Your Majesties Consideration, by

Your Majesties,

Most Humble, Obedient,

Loyal Subject,

August 9th. 1689.

And Servant,

W. Carter.

THE CHURCH

ENGLANDS INTREST
IN SECURING
THE
Woollen-Manufacture,
OF THIS
REALM.

Against the Artifices, and designs of FRANCE, asserted and made Evident to all true Lovers of their Country.

To which is added a REPLY to some Objections Formerly made to the same Subject.

LONDON Printed by Joseph Streater, for the
Author, Anno. Dom. MDCLXXXIX.

TO THE
READER.

IF I should value the Discouragements I have met withal, not only by appearing Publickly in this Matter; but also, in my endeavouring to prevent the Mischeifs that accrues to this Nation, by the Exportation of Wooll: I must have been both silent and un-active; but having conceived it to be the greatest Concern, not only to the Merchant and Clothier, but also to the whol Kingdom in general; I have exposed my self, because the greatest Strength of the Nation, which consists in the Multitude of People; the greatest Riches, the greatest Power upon the Sea in Shipping, and the greatest Revenues of the Crown, in most of its Branches; do all principally depend upon the Woollen-Manufacture, as more at large appeareth in the following Discourse: And considering that these great Advantages, are not only endeavoured to be gained from us by Forreigners, but more especially by a Powerful Neighbour (viz.) the French King, while some at home, are not only Reasoning, but appearing in Print for it; to such I will adventure to say, and doubt not to make appear, that they are Enemies to Englands Prosperity, what ever Pretence, they may make to the contrary.

I am much convinced, that by this Means, and by the Cunning

To the Reader.

ning Artifices, and secret Contrivances of French Agents, that not only the Clothing Trade, but the very Intrest of the Nation in General is at Stake, and in Hazard, to be utterly lost. This I have for some Years fore-seen, and publicly declared (tho' little regarded) that it will appear in time, that what I then mentioned, was upon very Good Grounds, and from my fore-sight of that Ruine in our Trade, which will certainly come upon us, if not Timely and Industriouslly prevented.

And tho' I have Wrote of this Subject, 20 Years ago, and re-printed the same in 71, and abstracted that Discourse, and added a few Lines, as an Advertizement to the Merchants and Clothiers, and published that Discourse in the Year 72, to all which, was Objections made, and printed in the Year 77, to which I also then made a Reply, as I thought sufficient: And it did answer my End therein, (viz.) in preventing the French Agents in their Designe.

But finding in my Attendance, on a late Committee of the Honourable House of Commons, appointed to consider a Bill depending before them, for the Explanation and better Execution, of two Acts of Parliament, made in King Charles the 2ds. Reign, Prohibiting the Exportation of Wooll, that Answer was urged by some against me, supposing no Reply was made to it: I have for that and other Reasons, now re-printed an Abstract, both of my first Discourse, my Opponents Answer, and my Reply thereunto; wherein I have endeavoured to remove that Gross Mistake, as if the hindring the Exportation of Wooll, was the Cause of the low Price thereof, the Cause of the fall of Rents, and value of Lands, the contrary whereof I do Assert, and shall plainly Demonstrate the true Cause thereof; Evincing, that

To the Reader.

that the hindring the Exportation of Wooll, will Cause the recovery of our Trade, the raising the Price of Wooll, and consequently of Lands, which is the Principal Drift and Designe of the Following Discourse.

That tho the Subject I am upon is nearly matter of Fact, and therefore less subject to Controversy; yet that it may be free from all Objections, I have added the Testimony of two Witnesses, one a Gentleman of Kent, viz. Thomas Manley Esq against whome there is little room to cavel; the other is Mr Andrew Marvel, (whotho' Dead, yet his Name still Lives,) a Member of the last Long Parliament; and very well known to many of this; who endeavoured to oppose that unfortunate Act. (for so I must in all humility call it) that prohibited Irish Cattle: He Wrote that discourse, under the notion of a Letter from a Younger Brother in Ireland, to an Elder in England, because he was unwilling to be known to be the Author, being loath to disoblidge his Friends in Yorkshier, who were for Passing that Act.

Since the following Papers was printed, I am informed that by means of the stop at present to *Irish* Wooll, the Clothiers in the *West* want Wooll; which makes good what I supposed, Page the 10th. therefore it may be considered how necessary it is to have a stock of Wooll before hand, to keep the Poor at Work, when there may be a scarcity of Wooll upon other occasions.

The Duke of Burgundy, (who had, as I am informed, the greatest notice whole of our Wool) well understood, and enjoyed; before King Edward the Third, the benefits of our People by buying of wool, which they receive, as it is to be seen their inductions, and maintaining it; returned again to us in at ten shillings a yard, to the enriching of our People, and advancing Revenue of their Sovereign; which being decayed by the

*An Abstract of a Discourse, formerly Printed Entitled
Englands Intrest by our Woollen-Manufacture, wherein
is demonstrated, that the whole Nation is concerned
in the Improvement thereof, and the evil Consequences
of the Transportation of our Wooll On-Manufactured.*

Now Princes have such means to support their splendour and Greatness, as His Majesty of Great Britain, nor have many Countries such a variety of staple Commodities within themselves, and in such abundance, as the Kingdoms.

So that if these Advantages were duly improved, this Kingdom might a general Mart, for these parts of the World. But,

That those Advantages are not improved, is obvious to all that look into by the fore complaints that are frequently made, of the great Poverty and decay thereof; and indeed, (which is worst of all) by that general operation of Spirit, which will not put forth a hand to help, support or prevent the total desolation of our Country; upon a preposited opinion, that endeavours will be rendered fruitless and abortive.

The consideration whereof hath greatly prompted me, who must confess myself the meanest of Thousands, to use the utmost of my little skill, to try what might be done, towards the management of some Methods, that may prevent the threatened ruin; and (if possible) that some good part of what is lost may be recovered.

I shall confine my self to those things only, whereof I have had not only credible information, but a considerable (though a sad) experimental knowledge; and in a more particular and especial manner, that of the Manufacture of Wooll in England, which, amongst many, is the richest Treasure in his Majesties Dominions; the Flower, Strength and Sinew of this Nation, and therefore of full Merit, to be had in perpetual remembrance, for the most advantageous improvement thereof.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, (who had, as I am informed, the greatest, if not the whole *Manufacturing* of our *Wooll*,) well understood, and long enjoyed; before King *Edward* the Third, the benefits accruing to the People by *English Wooll*, which they received at six Pence per pound, by their industrious *Manufacturing* thereof; returned again to us in *Cloath* at ten shillings per yard, to the enriching of that People, and advancing the Revenue of their Sovereign; which being perceived, by the vigilant and industrious Prince, King *Edward* the Third, upon a vibration made by himselfe, to the Duke of *Burgundy*, during his residence here, he employed such able Agents, amongst the *Flemish* Clothiers, representing to them the Danger they were in by the bordering Wars with *France*, and the peaceable Condition of *England*, and Freedom of the People that are Subjects there (which are great Motives) propounds an Invitation for them to come over hither, wherein he promises them the same Priviledges and Immunities with his own Subjects, by which promises he prevailed with a great number of them to come into *England* soon after his death, where He most Royally performed those promises, and also replanted many of his own Subjects, who had been long settled in *Flanders*. And as a suitable improvement of so great a mercy, did wisely project and also accomplish the *Manufacture* of *Wooll* within the bowels of the Kingdom, to the great enriching of his own People, and also to the peopling of his new Conquered Dominions: the Memory of whose Wisdom and Care for his People, is worthy to be had in remembrance, by all good men, unto the Worlds end.

The said King having thus settled the *Manufacture* of *Wooll*, within the Kingdom of *England*, confined it by a penal Statute, which (at first) reached not only to Goods, Chattels and Lands, but also to Members, and Life it self; but, in a short time repealed; the two latter thereof, continuing the other in its full force, to remain to future Generations, which exceeding greates advantage, to the propriety of the *English* Trade hath now continued three Hundred Years, by the vigilency of the government, and the Protection of its Laws in the careful execution thereof upon offenders, with more than a little diligence, to provide against the thieving desires of Forreigners, to wrest this Nations priviledge out of *English* hands; which by the Providence of God, through the care of our Ancestors, has been (for many Ages) enjoyed by the Nation, as it is indeed proper right.

But so it is, (for some years past) the diligence of Forreigners, to encroach themselves upon us, hath so far exceeded our care to preserve our selves, that it is come to, if not beyond a question, who hath the greatest benefit of

Manufacture of English Wooll? they who have no right unto it? or, they to whome of right it doth belong?

That this is so, will appear by considering, that not only *Holland* and *Flanders*, have long suckt the sweetness of our Trade, but *France* is likewise learning to be too hard for us, as is manifest by the great quantity of Wooll, that (of late years) have been imported there; how injurious it must be to us, is also unquestionable, if we consider the necessary consequences thereof.

For every Pack of Wooll sent to *France*, doth prevent us (not only) of the benefit, of the *Manufacturing* thereof; but, of much more, by reason of the advantage that they make of their own coarse Wooll, and fine spun Linnen in their *Druggets* and *Stuffs*.

Besides our Damage in putting that value on the *French Fancies*, by giving them double the worth for the same *Manufacture* (which we our selves make) of our *English Wooll*, so much have we been deceived in this Matter, that whereas in the time of the late War with the *Dutch* and *French*, that *French Druggets*, and other *Stuffs*, not coming so freely from *France*, some *English* broad Cloaths striped, at 10s. per Yard, were rent in three parts (*viz.*) Breadths, and put in the form of *French Druggets*, and each part sold at 8s. per yard, which makes that one yard comes to 24s. which as *English* Cloth was sold for 10s. and the like *Fancy* many have for *Dutch* Black Cloth, if it have the Name of *Dutch*, tho' our own Make, this is real Matter of Fact.

Now if we consider, what damage we sustain, by exporting one pack of Wooll unmanufactured, (by which we may judge of the rest,) that a pack of Wooll worth ten pound, if it be *Manufactured* here, and so exported, would be improved to be worth one Hundred Pounds.

That it is so, doth most evidently appear by worsted-hose, that one pound of Kembed Wooll, worth twenty pence, will make two pair of Hose worth five Shillings the pair; or three pair, worth three Shillings four pence; which reckoned either way, is ten shillings for one pound of Wooll, (though some is less, some more) there being twelvescore pound of Wooll in a pack, is so many ten shillings, makes a Hundred and Twenty Pound.

For when it shall be observed (as I have now demonstrated) that a Pack of Kembed Wooll worth 20 l. does, when *Manufactured* at home yeild 120 l. here in the *English* Market, out of which deduct 20 l. for the Wooll there remains 100 l. Sterling, gains by the Labour of Spining and Knitting, besides the Dying, Leging, Packing, and fitting it for the Sea; when the additional advance thereon by home, and forreign Customs, Freight, Land-Carriage and other incident expence, together with the

Profit on *Wool* in Foreign Parts, shall be considered; it is reasonable to conclude that this single Pack of Manufactured, and Exported by the *English Merchant*, will Purchase Foreign Commodities to near the value of *20 s.* by that time the Customs of Importation are answered for the same.

And indeed the thing is naturally so obvious, and the loss to *England* in *10 Years* so apparent, that it may justly silence the greatest opposer, and convince any thinking Person tho himself never so indifferent, of the concern in point of interest.

And if it be so that the single Exportation of one Pack of *English Wooll* unwrought be so great a damage to the Nation, it is an amazing thing to calculate what the loss has been and does daily prove to the King and Kingdom, while so many Thousand Packs have been, and still are Yearly transported; the mischiefe has not perhaps been owing to every one, but is very easily discovered by such who give themselves the least leisure to consider.

To return it's aver'd, that the Exportation of *English and Irish Wooll* is of a Dangerous and Destructive Consequence to the very Being of our Trade, and to the riches and strength of this Kingdom, and to his Majesty's Customs, notwithstanding the Objections produced against it, with relation to the Graziers Advantage thereby, supposing *40 s.* upon a Pack of Wooll was advanced for a year or two by Exportation, yet other things would be lessened by it, it being not to be denyed at the same time, that the poore and laborious People can be employed, as to have money to buy them Bread, Beef, much less Mutton, the want of which must of necessity fall the price of all manner of Victuals, and if we name only Mutton (which is relative to our subject) *2 s.* in the carcass, which comes to *10 l.* for *100 Sheep*, they producing a Pack of Wooll at that rate is the value of the said Pack modestly computed; But then for Beef and Corn, if that be lessned proportionable it must be of course great or damage to the Farmer and Grazer, it being reckoned three times the value of Wooll throughout the Nation, one with another. And supposing there should be grown yearly in *England* Two Hundred Thousand pack of Wooll, one year with another: And supposing that once in four years the sheep were all kill'd, (*Viz.*) *25* yearly of *1000*, which *25* Sheep valued so low as *10 s.* which is the value of the Wooll yearly shorn from the *100 Sheep*.

It may therefore prevail upon us to believe, that Beef and all sorts of Corn must be of a far greater value than Mutton, (and consequently Wooll) because the greatest number of People by far, are the poor and laborious People which consume Beef, Bread and Beer, and few of su-

do often buy Mutton, or at least any quantity proportionable to other provision, and therefore whatever some others think, that a Country can be enriched without the poor laborious People, I am of another opinion: For it's matter of Fact, that in *England* it self, in those parts where the inhabitation are thin, and the Countres not full of People, that the Land in those parts will not yeild much above half the value, as Land of the same goodnels, will yeild near Townes well inhabited, or Countres where Trade is good, and if thus in *England* it's much less in *Ireland*, which I think is a good Demonstration.

These things considered on the other hand, it will manifestly appear, that the Exportation of Wooll unmanufactured will not only be destructive to the Merchants and Clothiers Trade, and the exposing the poor to distress, for want of employment; but consequently the Farmer and Grasser will not be able to pay his Rent: For if it be so, that whilst we have some little Trade left, there are such general complaints, what may be expected if our Foreign Trade should be wholly taken away, which is now in more danger, by the *French*, than it hath been this three Hundred Years past, and we seem to sleep and take no notice of it.

And then we may consider what price Wooll will bear, when we, some of us by our remissness, and others wifeness have lost our Trade, by the circumventing practices of Forreiners, and we ourselves helping forward, for fear they shoud not be able to do it alone, and all this for a meere fancied and supposed profit, for there was not more Art and Skill used by our Ancestors, to bring home the workers at first to the Wooll, and Prohibiting the Exportation thereof, and setting the Manufacturing of it in *England*, than is now us'd to Export the materials unmanufactured to Forreign Artificers; and if by the means of that which is Exported already, Wooll is now made so cheap as it is, a greater Exportation would make it yet cheaper, supposing ten thousand Packs shipped into *France*, which by the sort of working it, and mixing it with Lining, and their own course Wooll, and thinnels of their work, goes as far there, and makes as many yards in the whole, as twenty thousand Packs if Manufactured here, into more firm and substantial Cloth and Stuffs, which Ten Thousand Packs, if they were not Exported into *France*, it would unavoidably follow, that *France* would have of us the quantity of Twenty Thousand Packs, in our Manufacture.

All which it's obvious, that in time to come, the Wooll in *England* will be much more cheaper than now it is, because, by the aforesaid means, more Wooll will be Exported, and less will of course be used in *England*, and that little which will be Manufactured here can bear little or no price, Forreigners making that themselves, which we should furnish them with; which if it be true, as it's generally asserted, that Wooll is

is as cheap in *France*, as in some parts of *England* at this time, it's but rational to conclude it will be much cheaper hereafter, when our *Wool* does encrease on our hands, and our Manufacture decrease, both in quantity and value.

For the better clearing of this point, give me leave to insert one instance or two, as matter of Fact: That when *Wool* was wholly Manufactured in *England*, and very little, if any at all Exported raw, the price thereof for several yeares together continued, betwixt 12 *d.* and 18 *d.* per *l.* weight, and I verily beleive as much, if not more, *Wool* was grown in *England* at that time, (*Viz.*) betwixt 20 and 30 yeares agoe, then is now at this time, the reason is plain, from the great quantity of our Woollen Manufacture vended beyond Sea, which was so considerable, that it kept up the price of *Wool* at home. On the other hand in *Ed. 3^{d.}* time, when all the *Wool* was Exported Un-manufactured, it was sold for 6 *d.* per pound, as is before asserted, by which it's manifest, that the advancement of the price of *Wool*, consists in the consumption and vent of our Manufacture freely beyond the Seas, and not in the Exportation of our *wool* un-manufactured.

As the Price of *Wool* to be Set at a constant Rate without varying, it is very Improbable, if not Impossible, for that which Rules the Market's in this Affair is the Sale of the Woollen Manufacture beyond the Seas.

For Example Suppose the Pack of Stockings before mentioned stands the Merchant at home, at first buying 120 *l.* besides other growing Charges, now if this Pack be sold abroad by the Merchants for 100 *l.* only, the Merchant at his next buying cannot pay 120 *l.* but the maker must withal abate proportionable, first in the *Wool* he shall next buy, and then in the Wages, his Work-folks in proportion being reduced in their payments. So on the other hand, if this Pack of Stockings valued at 120 here, be Sold for 200 *l.* Clear of all Charges, this advance puts the Merchant upon a Speedy buying, by which the Price is Advanced by the Merchants, and consequently the price of *Wool*, and Workmens Wages.

Now to answer an Objection, that we do not so much depend upon the Export, as upon the ware and Consumption within the Kingdome, the mistake is so visible that all which gives themselves the least trouble to look into Trade knows, that not above the 5th. part of the Woollen Manufacture made in *England* is wore here at home: and that at least parts of 5 of what is made here is Exported; and further quantity will be demanded when the Exportation of *Wool* unwrought is effectually prevented.

Barious

Before I conclude, give me leave to add here, what *Sr. Walter Rawleigh* in his time presented to King *James the first*, (*viz.*) that by means only of the Exportation of Cloth undyed and undressed, was lost to the Kingdom above Four Hundred Thousand Pounds yearly, to the workmanship, which the Dressers and Dyers, and other Artificers would have gained thereby, besides the damage to the King, in discouraging the Importation of Dying Stuffs, which pay a considerable Custome, besides the hindring Navigation.

Now if it was thus with *England* when the *Wool* was made up into Cloth, and that only for want of the Dressing and Dying it here, so much loss came to this Kingdom thereby, what must the loss be, when it's not Manufactured here at all, but the Materials Exported raw, without any manner of gain to any Artificer at home.

For if we first consider his Majestie's loss, and next that of the Merchants and Clothiers, after which must follow, the Detriment to all other Persons depending on Trade, there being such a connexion of Trades one to another, that the damage of one harmes the rest, and the profit of one advances others, while the whole is enlarged by the abounding of working and laborious People, who supply the Farmer and Grazier with money, with which he payes his Rent to the Nobility and Gentry, and they again disperse it amongst Tradesmen, by which circulation all degrees of Men are either employed or enriched or both, and hence naturally comes content, harmony and pleasure, that one condition of Men take in the other, the poor by being employed are delivered from the fear of want; the Merchants and Artificers encouraged by certain markets, and ready Sale; the Nobility and Gentry secured in their Rents by thriving and able Tenants. And thus it is plain that employment rationally is the strength of any People, but Idleness brings Poverty, Shame and Ruine, which unavoidably followes the want of Trade. But to return, in short there is such Connexion and Dependancy one upon another in *England*, that if one faile, all the rest more or Less, either near, or more remotely are concerned. All Trades and Degrees of men, as Merchants, Artificers, Farmers, Seamen, Fisher-men; being the People, which by their study and labour do principally, if not only bring in, or give occasion to the bringing in of Wealth to the Nation, and the Nobility, Gentry, Lawyers, Physicians, Schollars of all sorts; Shop-keepers are they that receive from these, and distribute it again, and all are consequently concerned in this rich Treasure of *Wool*, because this being a Manufacture at home, sets more hands at work than half the Nation.

May I not with modesty and within Compass, say three parts of Laborious and Industrious People? Considering that most of the Shipping is

employed in this Affair, and also so many Trades that depend immediately upon this of Clothing, that most of other Trades are but for Provision, there is Food or Conveniencies for Cloathing: and so from his Majesty the meanest, all are more or less concerned, *The King mostly*; not only in that his People are by that most employed and provided for, (nor in this such a Staple Trade, the like whereunto the *Wooll* hath not maintained with so good Advantage;) but because so great a Revenue comes directly into him upon the Trade, occasioned thereby: Thus as the King gains, suffers most, so the Persons that have the greatest Estates or Trades, as so all proportionable to the Beggar. And also concerning that an accustomed thing begets such an habit that is hard to reduce; as in our rough and undrest Cloth to *Holland*, so it will be with all our Manufactures in *France*. I am the more large in the Demonstration of this affair, not only because it hath cost me many years labour and study to consult all sorts of concerned Persons, besides mine own experience about it; nor because it is so hard to convince people of the meanest capacity, but some of the wiser how to cure this dismal malady: which some despairing of, have rather thoughts of setting up some other Manufacture (in Lieu of endeavours prevent the exportation of *Wooll* and Manufacturing of that at home, looking thereon as a thing not to be overcome,) as that of *Linnen* in some capable parts of *England*, and a better improvement in the product of Foreign Plantation, which may also be set upon together here with as an Addition; so as several sorts of Persons may be set better on worke, not capable of this employment, and yet no prejudice to this of Clothing: For all other Countries have the Advantage of *England*, or are equal to us in other Manufactures proper to their Countries, but not in this of Clothing: and it will be found that all Trades in *England*, wholly consisting from this of Clothing, brings not the tythe of Advantage that this doth.

Having given an Account in General, of the advantage to *England* by the *Woollen* Manufacture, I did intend to have descended to Particulars, how all Persons are Concerned: But my time will not permit now; Leaving that for another season.

Notwithstanding what I have before said, I find by Discourse with several Gentlemen of great Honour and Worth, that there are some Mistakes yet remaining in their minds, who Impute the Cause of the low Price of Wooll, the fall of *Rents*, and value of Lands; because Wooll is no more freely exported; to rectifie which mistake I have been labouring many years, because the consequences of such mistaken Notions is dangerous to this Kingdom; but if there was nothing more in it at this conjuncture, this were sufficient to oppose it, that it contributes to the Greatness of the *French* King, into whose Dominions our Wooll is imported, and who hath given so great an encouragement thereunto, that to the Town of *Callis* alone, there hath been at least, within two years, brought in 40 Thousand Packs of Wooll, from the Coast of *Kent* and *Sussex* (besides what is imported in other places of *France*, from *Ireland*, and the western Parts of *England*) for *Rumney marsh-Men* (who so much complain) are not content only with the Exportation of their own Growth, but buy Wooll 10 or 20 Miles up in the Country, and bring it down to the Sea side, and Ship it off; besides much Wooll is carried from *London*, to make a Trade of Exporting of it un-manufactured: *Kent* is the place, out of which more Wooll is exported, than out of all other parts of the Kingdom besides; so the Woollen-manufacture in that Countrey, which before Wooll was so much exported, was considerable, is now almost lost, tho' some seems to be well pleased, that they have by that Means, rid themselves of their Poor in that County: I would desire such to consider, what they would do with their Sheep, Bullocks, and Corn, if all other Countreyes that now are employed in the woollen-manufacture, which is brought to *London*, and there sold to maintaine Trade was as Barren of the Poor as *Kent* is, tho' with it, they have lost the benefit of so great and good Trade: Give me leave to compare the Profit with the Loss, and suppose *Kent* was wholly Independant, and that it did produce Six Thousand Packs of Wooll yearly, and put the Rate of Ten Pounds upon a Pack, which in the whole amounts to Threescore Thousand Pounds, and so exported. And then to consider, what it would be worth if made into Stockings and worsted Stuffs, that wooll being most of it fit for it. And supposing that a Pack and half of rough wooll, made one Pack of Kembed wooll, and as such worth Twenty Pound, which if made up into Stockings, would Yeild one Hundred and Twenty Pounds, as before demonstrated, which would amount to Seven Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds; so that if the said Wooll was Manufactured in that County, the profit by the Manufacturing thereof, would be six hundred and sixty Thousand Pounds, which instead of this Profit, the *Kentish* Gentlemen are willing to content themselves, with forty shillings per. Pack advance

vance upon their Wooll exported, which amounts to but Twelve Thousand Pounds, tho' it be only to the enriching and strengthening the *French* King, who alone has the Benefit of most of the Wooll exported, and tho' this in reason should be satisfactory to any, yet I shall Answer that question, how we can work up the Wooll if not exported, Matter of Fact is not often disputed, that it is matter of Fact, that before there was such great quantities of Wooll Exported to *France*, all the Wooll grown in *England*, and what was imported from *Ireland*, was all made up into one sort of Manufacture or other, and a great part of it exported to *France*, which now having our Wooll, Prohibits our Manufacture; so, that were the wooll wholly stopt, we should quickly work it up, and then no complaint of wooll upon hand. For I have known for several years together, when little wooll has been exported, that at Sheering-Time, there hath been but a very small quantity of wooll left on hand.

Give me leave further to add, that by the said Exportation of Wooll to *France*, *Exeter* alone, hath lost the sale of Three Hundred Thousand Pounds worth of the woollen-manufacture *P. An.* next is the loss of a great part of the Cottens and Bays, made in *Dorsetshire*, as also Cloth-Rashes in *Hampshire*, from the Town of *Hampton* and *Rumsey*, two thirds of the Trade is lost in 20 Yearstime, next may be considered *Welch* Cottens, *Manchester* Bayes, and *Yorkshire* Kerseys, worsted stuffs and stockings, formerly a great Trade to *France*; And last of all, fine broad mixt Cloth from *London*, which Trade is now lost, for one Merchant in *London*, that had the buying of Fifty Thousand Pounds worth of Cloth *Pr. An.* Sterling, now have nothing, which is the effect of Exportation of wooll to *France*; who as they have tasted the sweetness, and have found the Sinues of our Trade, so they have not spared any Cost to gain it from us, by getting our wooll, either by Craft or Force from us, for there was not more Art and Skill used by *K. Edw. 3d.* in bringing home the Manufacturers at the first to the wooll, than is now used to Export our wooll; the consequence of which is not only Injurious to us in the manufacturing of it in *France*, but in another Advantage to them, by the Improving every Pack of Raw wooll, as before hinted, by their fine-spun Linning and Course wooll (otherwise only fit for Ruggs, or Seamens Garments) that it makes as much manufacture as three Packs, if used in *England*, which together by the the Cheapness of wages under sels us, and without our wooll, the *French* can make no middle sort of Cloth, nor Stuffs, or Stockings, there being none in the Known parts of the world, to my best Information, fit for those manufactures, which is the greatest Trade in *Europe*. For consermation, give me leave to add the words of an *English Merchant*,

living in France, in a Letter to a Friend of mine here, dated the 16 of March 1669, (viz.) we Englishmen, have our Throats Cut with our own Weapons, wondering at the Stupidity of the English, that they should so long omit, to possess the King's Majesty with their Deplorable and dangerous Case, in respect of the present and future Inconveniency thereof, in having such great quantities of Wooll that is stolen into France, by which the French make Cloth called Serge-de-Berry, in which they Cloath their Soldiers, and all made of English wooll, by which Means, the English Men have the Reputation of betraying their Father for two pence, than no Marvel if they betray their Country.

And in another Letter from the same Person to my self, dated the 5th. of March 1671, Respecting Stockings, thus (viz.) I have much reason to believe, unless some are made Examples, there will be a continual Abuse of the Comodity, both English and Irish, raw and kemberd, abound much in these Countries, that they make abundance of Fabricks, and without our wooll they cannot make it. There is a City called Tournay, that makes all sorts of woollen Stockings, it's but few Years ago, that they betook themselves to it; a Trade which in my Minority, was considerable from London into these Countrys, but it's now lost; it is not above three Years ago, that there was a Scarcity of kemberd Wooll in that quarter of the Country, and could have contentedly given double the Price for the said Wooll; I could them care was then taking in England to prevent it. I Remembred at that time (viz.) the beginning of the Year 1668, upon my Address to K. Char. 2d. by the Importunity of some Merchants in Exon, for some Friggats at Sea, and a Party of Horse at Land, and strict Orders then given, as at large else-where doth appear, a great stop was then put to that mischeif, but I being discouraged, and also falling Sick in 1671, that Wooll was then Exported in great plenty, that the same Gentleman saith. That Wooll abounded, both English and Irish, that it fell in few Months one third part of its Price, and there he concludes thus; (viz.) you may easily see how Englands Hearts-Blood is drawn from them; in a word France rejects our Fabricks at this day, presuming they shall never want our wooll to make their own Fabricks, which are so variable, as puts a great stop to the Current demand, that used to be of our Sollid Fabricks, for which they will pretend to give the Mode to all the world; and so by this Means, in time all the world will be disgust with our Fabricks, when they shall receive the Mode from the French, consider this I pray, that so there may be some speedy Remedy.

What hath been done in pursuance of this Letter, I have else-where wrote at large; I shall here only incert the main Objections, made against what I have here Asserted, (viz.)

1st. That for want of vending our superfluous wooll abroad, that the Tenant and Landlord are so much damnsied, that the one cannot pay his Rent, nor the other sustain his Taxes; and this is the chieftest, if not the sole Reason of sinking our Rents, and throwing up of Farms, and the Misery of the whole Country.

2^d. That it is much more the Concern of the Nation, to preserve the Nobility, and Gentry, rather than regard a few Artificers, who are employed in the working up the wooll, or the Merchant who gains by the Exportation of our Manufacture.

3^d. That it will be more for the Advantage of our woollen Trade, and less for that beyond the Sea, than the hindring of it hath been.

4th. That if a large Custom was put upon all wooll that was exported by Strangers, and that at least by this Means, they may come to pay double the Price of what our Clothiers do, and not only so, but by this Means also, His Majesty may receive an advantage by the Customs, that is Imposed upon it.

5^{ly}. That our Fore-Fathers did never Prohibit the Transportation of Wooll, unless upon some great Occasion, and for a certain Season, till of late Years, for making good of which, a Summary of several Statutes are brought, from the Time of Edward the 3^d. downwards, to our Times.

6th. That the decay of our Clothing, doth not lie in the Exportation of our wooll, but on the contrary, (viz.) because our wooll is not more freely Exported than it is, that in as much as the decay and fall of our Manufacture, comes properly from the Prohibition of our wooll, the stopping or hindring of it, is but the applying to our distemper a wrong Remedy.

To all which Objections, I make the Reply following, which I desire may be Impartially considered; and if therein, there be any thing of Reason, Truth, or Argument; I question not, but that Persons of Honour and Reputation, will not oppose their own Judgment, especially when their Intrest is truly, and so nearly therein concerned.

A

R E P L Y

To a Paper I N T I T U L E D,

R E A S O N S

For a Limited E X P O R T A T I O N O F

W O O L L.

I Must needs say, that I had not thought of appearing in Publick any more, and could not easily have been moved thereunto, had not my Zeal to the Commerce of the Nation (which is at present solely maintained by the Woollen Manufacture of it) Raised my fears so far as to believe a great Prejudice is coming upon Us, and so far as to doubt also that we may be hastning of it, by those very means we would endeavour to prevent it.

And therefore I cannot but like the dumb Child speak, when he saw a Knife at his Fathers Throat, I mean, when I consider the extremity we are like to be in from the *French* Kings Vigilancy, and the great Endeavours that he hath of late used to acquire the making of the Woollen Manufacture in his own Kingdome, and what Artifice and vast Expence he doth use to effect his said design, both in *France*, and by his Agents here in *England*.

And to encourage the Manufacture thereof in his own Kingdom, he hath even very lately issued forth his Edict, for the erecting Hospitals in many Towns in *France*, both for the setting all sorts of Persons at work, (that are able) in the

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Woollen

Woollen Manufacture, and for the Maintenance of all Indigent Persons, and not to suffer a Begger there.

And if the *French* King, how fair soever he pretends a Friendship to us, by Defining by all wayes and means, to Undermine our Commerce, and by it to prejudice us in our Trade and Strength by Sea, I may I hope be pardoned, if I am more that indifferently concerned, or more than ordinary warm, to think that we our selves should endeavour to perfect His Design by delivering up our Wooll, the Foundation of so Rich a Manufacture, into His hands; for that which is moved, is moved principally (if not solely) for the *French* Kings advantage, and that which is desired (if granted) tends to our own Inevitable ruine.

Nor can we hereafter thinke of so Vain and Idle a Thing, as to recover our Woollen Manufacture once lost, or to preserve the Kings Customs, or the Strength and Shipping of this Great Kingdom without it.

Upon all which considerations, I cannot but humbly entreat the Nobility and Gentry, (and more especially such as have the Honour to serve their Country, in Parliament) seriously to reflect upon the wisdom of that Great Prince, King *Edward* the 3d. and upon the Method which he in his Reign used, now so long since to gain the Woollen Manufacture out of *Flanders* into this Countrey, and withal Impartially compare that with the present designe of the *French* King, viz. to Improve His Intrest here to gain the Trade from us.

And then to Consider whether, we have not Reason to do the utmost we may to Prevent his Design, or whether we have Reason to do all that we can (nay more than he himself doth ask or expect from us) by a Law to promote and Encourage his Design.

We must be very short-sighted, if we understand not that after he hath supplied his own Country, he will not only endeavour, but will soon be able, to supply *Flanders*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, and the *Streights*, to gain an Advantage to his own Subjects; for if we may break the Laws of Commerce, and lastly

what

what Impositions he pleaseth upon our Cloth, and all other our Native Commodities, even while we are at Peace with him, why may he not also lay an Imposition upon all our Ships that pass the *Streights*, or that shall dare to Trade or bring the same Commodities that he doth in any Port of *Italy*, or *Turkey*, where the Subjects of his Greatnes comes? And when our Commerce is lost and our Manufacture gon, and our Ships imposed upon that shall pass the Seas, what shall be left to defend our selves in case we will not also receive his Codex, or whatsoever he shall (for the greatness of his name) think fit to require of us.

All which things, whether they be convenient not only to be wished but to be Contributed to by a Law, I humbly leave to my Opponents* themselves to judg. For when the Trade that not only brings such a Revenue to his Majesty, but is the Riches and Strength of this Kingdom shall be lost, as is now attempted, what Way or Means may we as Rational Persons, think (on) to prevent any of those Mischefs before mentioned.

This General being premised, I shall now enter upon the *Discourse* it self: the main Aim or Scope of my Antagonist divides it self into two Parts, the one to prove that there ought to be a *Limited Transportation of Wooll*; the othe that by a *Limited Transportation of Wooll* the Price of it may be *Raised*: and by the *Raising* of this, the Rents of Lands, may and will be encreased, and his Majesties Customes greatly Advanced; and if these things were Really Practicable, I should not only be so Just to my Self, and to my *Opponents*, but so Just to the *Nation*, as not to put Pen to Paper to trouble the Reader, and much less to expose my self to a Stage of Contention, as I am now like to do; but for as much as the quite contrary will (if I mistake not) appear, I shall therefore Examine and Weigh those Reasons and Grounds which my *Opponent* hath brought for those *Affertions*.

Whereas my Opponent doth endeavour to Alarm the Nation, *that for want of the vending our superfluous Wooll abroad, that the Farmer*

Farmer and Landlord are so much damnified, that the one cannot pay his Rent, nor the other sustain his Taxes; and that this is the chiefest, if not the sole Reason of sinking our Rents, and throwing up Farms, and the Misery of the whole Country.

This Consequence is not allowed, that being assigned for a General Cause, which is but one amongst many, and that a very small one, the true Cause of the abateing the Price of Land and lessening the Rents, shall be given in the Answer to the next pretence in this Head; (*Viz.*) That it is much more the Concern of the Nation to preserve the Nobility, Gentry, and those that the Land of this Country belongs unto; rather than regard a few Artificers, who are employed in the working up of the Wooll of this Nation, or to regard the Merchant, who gains by the Exportation of our Manufacture.

I Humbly crave leave to say, that the said Argument doth wholly depend upon a Supposition, which is no way fit to be Granted, (*Viz.*) as if the Intrests of the Merchant, Mariner and Artificer, were not only Opposite to, but wholly Inconsistent with the Nobility, Gentry and Farmers, whereas there is nothing more evident than the contrary; so that the whole Argument it Self falls for want of a Foundation. For the clearing of which let us consider, that in as much as it is Impossible, that we should defend our selves, as an Island, otherwise than by the strength of our Shipping, and seeing this is much less possible to be done now, at such a Juncture of Time when our nearest Neighbours do (partly out of Fear, and partly out of Emulation) multiply Shipping upon us, and use all endeavors that are possible to gain the Dominion of the Sea from us, it is hence clear, that we must either say, that the Intrest of the Nobility, Gentry, and Farmer, is not the same with the Intrest of the Nation, or if it be the same with the Intrest of the Nation, it must be their Intrest then, to uphold the Trade and Shipping of this Country, and Consequently to uphold the Merchants.

But for as much as all that understand Trade, do well know that all the Commerce of this Nation, doth for the value and

bulk

bulk of it, Intirely depends upon the *Woollen-Manufacture*, Consequently it must be the Intrest of the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and *Farmer*, to uphold the *Woollen-Manufacture*, as much as 'tis to uphold Trade, or to uphold the Strength of our Shipping by Sea : For what will the Lands of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* profit them ? or what will become of the Priviledges and Rights of *English* Men, if through the Loss of our *Woollen-Manufacture*, we Loose our Trade, and by the Loss of this we want Shipping to Defend our Selves?

To this Argument let us also add, that if there be no opposition between the Intrest of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, and the Intrest of the *Farmer*, (as no Man doth pretend there is) than there can be no Oposition between the Intrest of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, and the Intrest of the *Artificer*, who Works up the *Wooll* of all the Country.

For besides the Profit that doth arise to the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, by the Houses which are taken, and by the Lands that are Rented by the *Clothiers*, and by the Workmen under them it's well known, that the said *Clothiers*, and Workmen are Serviseable to the Farmer, not only for the buying up of his *Wooll*, but for the buying up all manner of Victuals also ; by the which not only one, but all the parts of the Farmers Rents come to be discharged, one *Clothier* Employing not only one, or two Hundred Persons, but sometimes one or two Thousand ; and Consequently, if we shall admit that there are in *England* not above five Thousand *Clothiers*, and that each of these (one with another) do maintain but two Hundred and Fifty Workmen, the whole will amount to upward of one Million ; whereof if we allow for each of these People but four pound *Per. An.* one with another ; the whole will amount to between four and five Millions of Pounds Sterling *Per. An.* which Yearly Sum the Farmer doth Immediatly recieve, and Consequently the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, from the Poor and Contemptible *Artificer*, over and above what is further Contributed by them to the *Shoemakers*, *Tailors*, and other *Trades*, that could not live and be Maintained without them, nor the Farmer himself, if all these *Trades* should Fail.

And

And this leads us also, to take notice of another mistake in my *Opponent*, and such as is no small one, which is, that in as much as it is Matter of Fact, and such as may be clearly demonstrated ; that there is at least if not much more than a *Mil-lion* of Persons, employed in the *Clothing-Trade*, and hath their dependance wholly upon the said *Manufacture*: It's hence evident, how much my *Opponent* hath mistaken himself in supposing, that though our *Clothing-Trade* should be lost, yet all the Persons that are now employed in it, might find work from the Farmers, foreseeing it's Matter of fact, that the Farmer is able to supply himself with as many Labourers, and more than he hath occasion for, without so much as meddling with that of the *Clothing-Trade*: It must unavoidably follow ; that if our *Manufacture* should be totally lost, as there will be above a *Mil-lion* of People ; that must either Starve or Beg, or be put to the Charge of several Parishes, or be forced to Steal or Rob, or leave the Kingdom ; so it's as evident that the Farmer after all this, will not only be less able to employ Labourers, than he was before, but less able to pay his Landlord, by four or five *Millions* every Year.

And when such an Abatement as this shall be made of the Farmers Income: I shall leave it then to any wise Man to Consider what will become of the Price of Lands, or Value of Rents, and how much this will advantage the Grower or Breeder of Wooll? and to make good this Computation, and free it from all Suspicion of Slightness, we will further offer to Consideration, that whatsoever is the true Value of all the Woollen-*Manufacture* of England, the Nobility, Gentry, and *Commonalty* do receive among them, near, if not more than Nine Parts of Ten. For inasmuch as all who are well acquainted with the *Clothing-Trade*, do know that it is not a Tenth Part of the Profit, nor sometimes the Twentieth that is gained by the *Clothier*, or first *Employer*, who frequently looseth of the very Intrest of his Mony ; consequently it must of necessity follow, that Nine of the Ten Parts, if not Nineteen of Twenty Parts of the whole Value of the said *Manufacture* must be

be distributed to the Nation ; so that admitting the whole *Woollen-Manufacture* of this Nation, comprehending *Cloth, Stuffs, Bays, Stokings*, and all other of the said *Manufacture*, do amount to *Four Millions* of Pounds *Sterling* Per. An. (more or less) there will not come of that Great Sum to the *Clothier*, or first Employer, much above *Two Hundred Thousand Pound* (if so much ;) so that *Three Millions* and *Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds* Per. An. must of necessity be distributed to the Nation by Virtue, of the said *Clothing-Trade* ; whereof we cannot but suppose the *Farmers*, and therefore the Nobility and Gentry must receive the greatest Part.

It is well known also, that it is solely by our Trade, that not only this Great City of *London* it Self, but several other Large Cities of this Nation do wholly Depend ; and which, if our Trade were removed, they would soon be deserted by their respective Inhabitants.

And then we cannot but offer to Consideration, where the Nobility, Gentry, or Farmer, would find a Market for their Commodities, or find a Price answerable to them.

All which Particulars I have been the larger in, to remove that Mistake, which is almost as Distructive to the Nation, as the *Pestilence* it Self ; which is that mentioned by my Opponent (*Viz.*) that the Intrest of the *Merchant*, or the Intrest of the *Clothier* and *Artificer* is not Consistant with the Intrest of the Nobility and Gentry ; the contrary being made sufficiently to appear.

Another thing Alied by my Opponent, is, that a Limited Exportation of Wooll, will be more for the Advantage of our Woollen Trade, and less for that beyond the Sea, than the hindring of it hath been.

Which Ascertainment, if my Opponent had Really, Sufficiently, and Effectually made good, he might justly have Merited the Name, for being the greatest Master of Reason in *England*.

And indeed seeing a *Paradox* more strange, and more hard to be Conceived, could not easily be stated, I could not but expect, that some Arguments more Remarkable than ordinary, would

would Immediately have followed it, but finding (contrary to my Expectation) nothing beyond a bare Affirmation, *that if Strangers had a Liberty to Buy what Wooll soever they please, they would Pay Dearer for it, then they do, and that our Clothiers would therefore have it the Cheaper, and by this Advantage would be able to under-sel the Strangers in their Manufacture* : I say finding little or no thing more ; to be brought, either by way of Reason, or Argument , to maintain this Parradox, I was soon convinced that it remained as incapable to be proved as it was before, and a little to evidence the Improbability of the said Consequence, we shall here offer some few Reasons to the Contrary.

And *First* I crave leave to say, that it's no way likely that the Grower in any part of *England*, should not be willing to get the utmost Price for his *Wooll* that he can, and therefore not likely that any Grower whatsoever, will sell his *Wooll* to the Natives of this Countrey, for less Price than he presumes he may have of Strangers : And therefore not at all likely, that our own Manufacturers should Buy it Cheaper than others,

Secondly. Admitting that it should be made Unlawful, for any Strangers to Buy up Wooll, till such a time or season of the Year, to the end that our Clothiers might first Provide themselves of what they need, yet it would no way follow, but Strangers may have their Agents and Factors here, that may Purchase it at the same ease, with the same conveniency, and at the same Rates that our Clothiers are like to do, nor can I perceive any thing propounded by my *Opponent*, that would be able in the least, either to Prevent , or Obviate it.

Thirdly. And this great Omission in my *Opponent*, I could not but take the more notice of, because if no *Expedient* can be found out by him (which I doubt there will not) to prevent Strangers, from giving what Commissions they please, to Buy up what Quantities of Wooll soever they think fit, here in this Country ; as I see not how, or by what means, the Exportation of our *Wooll*, should be any way possible to be *Limited*, so neither do I see how the *Clothier* here should be sufficiently ;

ently ; certainly Furnished, or how the *Manufacture* it self should be Capable of being any way preserved, and if these Mischeifs, and Inconveniencies cannot but follow, and cannot but be a Necessary Consequences of such a Law, as is propounded by my *Opponent* ; and that nothing to Obviate or prevent these Inconveniencies, hath been either Regarded, or so much as attempted by him, I cannot but take it to be a very great Blot to his Judgment, barely and boldly to Offer at such a thing, which is attended with so much Hazard.

Fourthly. Because my *Opponent* seems to put his cheifest Stress in this, (*Viz.*) *that a large Custome may be put upon all Wooll that is Exported by Strangers, and that at least by this meanes, they may come to Pay double the Price of what our Clothiers do, and not only so, but by this means also, his Majesty may receive an Advantage by the Custome, that is Imposed upon it.*

To try the weight or strength of this Expedient, or rather to shew the Vanity of it. Let us suppose that 3*d.* or 4*d.* Per Pound, should by a Law, be Imposed upon all Wooll, that shall be Shipt out by Strangers ; or others, as it will not follow, that the said Custome should be Paid to his Majesty, for one half of the Wooll, that shall be so Shipt out : Seeing under the Colour of one Hundred Packs, many Hundred may be Exported. So this will much the less follow, from the very Observation ; which my *Opponent* himself hath made, of the nature of the *Stealers* or *Transporters* of Wooll ; for if as he Confesseth they will be content with 12*d.* a day profit so they may play the *Merchants* ; and if they are content to run the hazard of their Necks, and to be tryed as Fellons, for so small a matter as this amounts to, which cannot be above 8, or 10*s.* upon a Pack, how much more then, will they be encouraged to steal the Custom of it when their excuse shall be fairer, and their advantage much greater, and the hazard less a hundred times then now it is ? but in the *fifth* and *last* place, let us admit for Arguments sake, that if 4*l.* was imposed upon every Pack of Wooll that was Transported, and let us admit, that all this Custome was duely Paid, yet I see not the least Ground for my

Opponents Confidence, that we shall for this Cause be able to undersell the *French*, in the Woollen-Manufacture.

For beside that the Nature of their Manufacture being but slight; and such as takes up much less Wooll than ours doth, and a great part of their warps, being made of their fine spun Linnen and their own course Wooll: I say besides this, the Impositions that have been of late, Arbitrarily put upon all our Woollen-Manufacture in *France*; and considering also there is no Custome at all put upon Wooll there, when Imported, both these will utterly prevent, our selling the said Manufacture there, Cheaper than the *French* can make it, though they shall not only give double, but treble the Price, that we our Selves do give for Wooll.

The next thing Alledged by my Opponent is, that our Fore-Fathers did never Prohibit the Transportation of Wooll, unless upon some great Occasion, and for a certain Season, till of late Years, for makeing good of which, a Summary of several Statutes, are brought from the Time of *Edward* the 3^d. downwards to our Times.

For answer to all which Statutes, I shall make use of no other Argument, than what my Opponent himself hath put into my Mouth, which is; that Wooll was for many Ages, by the Wisdom of the Government, at least very often Prohibited; and that whensoever the Government it self saw, there was a greater Occasion than ordinary for it, they did alwayes Prohibit it; and Consequently, if the Intrest of the Nation at present be such, and the circumstances relating to our Neighbours about us, be not only so great, but so Instant and Importune, that these two considered, there will be much more Reason, and much more Necessity, for the Prohibiting of it now, than formerly.

Then all that my Opponent labours at, in producing Instances of other Kinds, and where the Circumstances are not the same, falls wholly to the Ground; for the clearing of which, let us consider, that the Circumstances peculiar to this present Time are, that we have not only been Possessed for many Ages of the

Manufacturing of our Wooll, but have of late so Improved our Trade and Commerce by it, that we have Exported it by Shipping of our own, not only into *France*, *Portugal* and *Spain*, but into *Italy*, *Turkey*, and to the remotest Parts of the World.

By which means, as our Wealth came greatly to Increase, so we our selves become more Powerful in Shipping than ever, which greatness of our Trade and Strength of our Shipping being not only Observed, but forthwith Emulated by some of our Neighbours, and seeing it was likewise clearly discerned, that the cheifest means for the Maintenance of it proceeded from our Woollen-Manufacture, as the *Hollander* therefore first, so the *French* since, have by many undue Lawes and Pressures upon us, contrary to the Ancient Treaties of Peace and Commerce, endeavoured to Rob the said Manufacture from us.

Nor is the state of the Contest now at present between us only, who shall have the Trade, but who is fittest to have the Strength and Dominion of the Sea.

Wherefore if my *Opponent* be not only an *Islander*, but so much an *English-Man*, and be so true a Subject to the Intrest of his Majesty, which I doubt not but he is, as to think there is none so fit as his Majesty to Command the Sea, then my *Opponent* must of necessity grant, that nothing ought at this time to be done by us, that may hazard the greatness of our Trade and Commerce, and Consequently, that nothing ought to be suffered by us, (so far as we are able in any wise to prevent it) that may either lessen or endanger our Woollen-Manufacture, and Consequently, if nothing can so much hazard it, and hazard the very loss of our Trade, and of the Dominion of the Sea it self through it, as the countenancing and contributing to the Woollen-Manufacture now set up in *France*, then this is not to be done by us, but is rather, if we will pursue the Intrest of the Nation, by all means to be prevented by us.

And Consequently till my *Opponent* shall be able to make it appear, that the Dominion of the Sea, if lost, will be no great harm to us, or till he make it appear, that we are able to keep
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the Dominion of the Sea ; even, notwithstanding our Trade and Commerce should be utterly lost, and notwithstanding our Woollen-Manufacture, should be wholly carried away by our Neighbours.

Or till he make it appear by other Arguments than hitherto he hath done, that the *French* though they encrease their Woollen-Manufacture, will neither be able to Under-sell us abroad, nor be able to prevent our *Clothes* and *Stuffs* from going into *France*, as formerly.

I say till my *Opponent* shall be able to make good all these things, I must crave leave to differ from him wholly, and plainly to affirm on the contrary.

1. That the Transportation of Wooll, if allowed by a Law, can no way be Limited. Because if the Transportation of Wooll shall be allowed by a Law, no means, (speaking rationally) is able to prevent the *Hollanders*, *Flandrians*, and *French*, to give each of them such Commissions as they please, to Buy up here what quantity of Wooll soever, they shall think fit.

2. In regard that this can no way be prevented, and that my *Opponent* himself offers not the least grain of an Expedient towards it: I therefore farther affirm, that it cannot appear that our *Clothiers* or *Manufacturers* here, shall have the least Priviledg above the Stranger ; either in poynt of Provision, or point of Price.

3. That our *Clothier*, or *Manufacturer* here, must of necessity have a far greater disadvantage, with reference to the furnishing himself, than the Strangers abroad, in regard it cannot be thought, he shall be able to raise any such stock of Money as the Stranger can, to prevent the Strangers Forestaling of him ; and Consequently (if it be Lawful to talk Reason) there can be no ground to Imagin, that our Manufacture should not in short time be utterly lost, and this being lost, as our Trade and strength at Sea must be Inevitable lost with it, so not only the Honour, Welth and Rents, but the very Priviledges, Liberty, and Property of the Nation, must be hazarded to such

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Strangers as shall carry away the Trade and strength from us.

As to the next Allegation made by my *Opponent*, (*Viz.*) that the *Transportation of Wooll*, will better his *Majesties Customs*: I see but little in it that may require my Answer to it, inasmuch, as I have spoken already to this, under the *Fourth* head: Nevertheless I must crave leave to say, that my *Opponent* here also goeth upon an extraordinary Mistake, it being not at all in dispute between us, whether his *Majesties Customs* would be bettered if a *Subsidy* were paid only for that *Wooll* that is now *Exported*, instead of having it all stollen: But the dispute between us strictly is what his *Majesties Customs* will hereafter amount to, Comparatively to what they at present are, in case there should be a Law for the free and Unlimited *Exportation of Wooll*, and that by reason of this Law, and the Consequences that must follow from it, our *Woollen-Manufacture* shall come to be wholly and entirely lost: For it becomes not a wise *Man* (and such I must in Civility Judge my *Opponent* to be) in making such Proposals as tend to the altering of Lawes, to look at the present only, but to look more principally at the time to come.

And therefore it is not in this case at all, to be considered what the advantage will be, that may come to his *Majesties Customs* for a few moneths, or a single *Year*, but it is to be considered, what the advantage or disadvantage will be to his *Majesties Customs* for the time to come; admitting these *Inconveniencies*, which I have before mentioned to be unavoidable. from the Law which is Propounded by my *Opponent*.

Besides my *Opponent* cannot doubtless be so Ignorant, as not to have Considered, that the greatness of his *Majesties Customs* (which is at this Day greater than ever) is not at all Raised Comparatively from the *Export* but from the *Import*, which is 10. if not 20. times greater than the *Export*, the Value of all which *Import* must proportion ally fall, as the quantity of our *Manufactory* shall faile to be carried out, and as our raw and unwrought *Wooll* alone shall instead of it be *Exported*,

ed, and Consequently to pretend that by such a Law as is desired, his Majesties Customes would be advanced, is either greatly to betray Ignorance, or greatly to betray the Revenues of the Customes it self.

The next thing alledged by my Opponent is, *that the cause of the decay of our Clothing doth not lie in the Exportation of our Wooll, but on the contrary, (Viz.) because our Wooll is noe more freely Exported than it is, and that we may be sure not to mistake his Sense, herein he further adds, that inasmuch as the decay and fall of our Manufacture, comes properly from the Prohibition of our Wooll, the stopping or hindring of it is but the applying to our Disease a wrong Remedy.*

Which Argument, had it been brought by a Stranger, we should immediately have turned it into Merriment, as supposing that he thought us such Children, that any thing would easily Deceive us? but being brought by a Gentleman, and an *English-Man*, I confess I could not possibly think what might be the meaning of it, unless it were, that my Opponent was resolved to cross the Proverb for a while, and by a piece of Wit to make it appear, that it is not always *True*, that *Intrest cannot Lye*; for that nothing can be more contrary to *Truth*, than what is here alledged, or more against the Intrest of the Nation, and of an *English-Man* than what is here Asserted, (if that be the very Intrest of my Opponent) is most Clear.

For if it be *True* which my Opponent saith, *that the decay of our Clothing-Trade, is not from our Exportation of Wooll, but rather the Contrary, because no more of our Wooll is not Carried out Raw and Un-Manufactured*, it must follow then, by how much the more our *Wooll* is thus Exported, by so much the more our Manufacture will not only be Preserved, but Encouraged, and the Reason for this must needs be, that if we are once rid of our *Wooll*, and have got a good Price for it, we need not trouble our heads so far as to Imagin, that they who Buy it will do any thing with it, but only will lay it up to look upon it: For if we shall Seriously Believe that they will have so much Wit as to make Use of it, and to make Use of it as becomes

Rational Persons, in order to the Increase of their own *Clothing* by it, we cannot be so sottish as to think, that they do intend after this to Buy our Manufacture any more, but do on the contrary design to prevent, and shut out the Importation of it, as a thing not Expedient for them.

And if this and no other be really the intent of Buying up of our Wooll by our Neighbours; then must it not necessarily follow, that by how much the more Wooll they have, by so much the more Manufacture they will make for the Furnishing themselves, and Furnishing their Neighbours, and then by so much the less Place, or Possibility, there will be that we should be able to Furnish them, and then also by so much the greater stop must of necessity be put to the Vending our own *Cloths*: And is it not plain that by how much the less we Vend of our Manufacture, by reason of the Increase of it abroad in other Places, by so much the more our Manufacture must decay: Not only in point of Price, but in point of its Necessity and Use?

And is it not then as manifest, that by how much our Manufacture Decays, our Trade must Decay, and our Welch must Decay, and the Strength of our Shipping must Decay, and we our selves must be the more made a Scorn, a Prey, and a Laughing-stock by it to our Neighbours: And if all this be not for the Intrest of the Nation, but the contrary wholly, is it not plain that my *Opponent*, seeing he is an *English-Man*, and seeing it is for the Intrest of the Nation that he Writes, doth cross the Proverb, and give us a Demonstration by his thus Arguing, that Intrest may now and then Lye, though not alwayes?

But in the next place, to try whether my *Opponent* be in earnest, or not, let me humbly Beg of him, to tell me truly, why those naughty Men that Usurped the Gouvernement in the Year 1647. did upon such Penalties strictly Prohibit the Exportation of our Wooll; if he saith, it was because they were not only Rebels, but Men of no Reason, and Understood not the Intrest of the Nation: Will he not by this brand many of the Parliament also that now sits? who though they did not Confirm the

the Rebels Law, did think fit at least to make a new Law to the same purpose, even soon after his Majesties most happy Restoration.

Granting then that the Laws now in force of the 12 and 14 of his Majesties Reign, were not made by other, than by the Wifest and most Loyal Persons of this Nation, the said Persons must consequently have some grounds or other for making of the said Laws, and if we may guess at their grounds by their own words in the preambles of the said Lawes, they appear mainly to be these three following, (*Viz.*)

1. *For the setting on Work the Inhabitants of this Realm.*
2. *For the Improving the native Commodities of this Country, to its best, fullest, and utmost Use.*
3. *And that the advantage accruing hereby might Redound to the Subjects of this Kingdom, and not to the Subjects of foreign Realms, as hitherto, and as it would, and must otherwise do.*

W Herefore, either these Three grounds, when the said Lawes were made, were either good and sufficient Motives for the Prohibiting our Wooll, and for the laying so great a Penalty upon such as should Export it, or they were not: if my Opponent shall say, they were not good and sufficient Grounds, then he must say that the Wisdom of these Honourable and Loyal Persons, who at that time served in Parliament, were indeed not much better than that of the Usurpers of the Government in the Year 1647. But if the said grounds were Good, Valid, and Sufficient, and such as did both regard and Comprehend the True and Sincere Intrest of the Nation; then my Opponent must confess, that the said Law ought to Stand, or he must shew wherein the Case is altered now from what it was then, with reference to the said Motives or Grounds, that the said Parliament then went upon, in making the said Laws. For,

1. If my *Opponent* can make it appear by Letters that he hath lately received, that the *Hollanders* have laid down their Woollen-Manufacture, and that they in *France* are altogether grown Sick and Weary of it, and that the *French King* hath wholly forbidden it, and hath released all the Impositions that he hath of late *Years* put upon it, then I must needs confess the Case is altered, and that the said Laws ought justly to be Repealed ; or,

2. If my *Opponent* hath received Information from sure and good Hands, that the *Hollanders* make use of no other Wooll than that of their own Growth, though they breed few or no Sheep ; and that he hath also received Information from good and sure Hands, that the *French* make use only of their own Wooll in all their Manufacture ; or,

3. If my *Opponent* can make it appear, that the setting on Work the Inhabitants of this Realm, is not now a thing so convenient or fit ; as it was when the said Acts were made ; or,

4. If the Improving the Native Commodities of this Country to its best and utmost Use, be found by Experience to be no good Policy, but to bring many Inconveniences with it ; or,

5. If it be much more adviseable that Forreiners should go away with the Gain of our Manufacture, and with the sweet of our *Trade*, rather than that his Majestie's Subjects should have it, in all these Cases I must confess, it must Inevitably be for the Intrest of the Nation to Repeal the said Acts, and lay them aside.

But on the other hand, if none of all these Five Cases can possibly be put, and that those very Reasons and Grounds do still remain, and are the same now, which they were when the said Acts were made.

Then my *Opponent's* motion to Repeal the said Laws, must be against the Intrest of the Nation, or Intrest doth not alwayes speak True ; which was the Paradox intended to be Argued by my *Opponent*.

As it is clear then, that by both these Arguments, my *Oppo-*

ment hath wholly mistaken himself in the Cause of our Manufactures decay, to evidence yet farther the manifestnes, and palpableness of this mistake, we affirm that it is Matter of Fact, that our Woollen-Manufacture did greatly encrease after the said Prohibition of Wooll; and not only encreased, but bore a good Price, and that I may not be found like some others, who regard not the Credit of what they affirm (and particularly, like him who hath contracted the Arguments of my *Opponent*, and hath published them together in one Sheet of Paper) I will to justifie what I say, appeal for the Truth of it; not only to the *Custom-house* Books, and to the quantity of the Woollen-Manufacture there entred; but to the *Gentry* themselves: And to the Price that the Land bore (and *Victuals*) for many Years together after the said Prohibition.

Yea, as our Manufacture did encrease for many Years together, after the said Prohibition of the Exortation of Wooll, so it had to this day still encreased, had not those accidents happened, that laid so effectual a Foundation for the ruine of it, as it was neither in the Power of the *Clothier*, nor in the Power of the *Crown* to prevent: I mean those new and immoderate Taxes, which were laid upon our Manufacture by the *French King*, on purpose to encourage his own workmen to gain the said Manufacture from us; and on purpose to prevent our *Cloth* and *Stuffs* from being brought into his Country, (the Fruits of Exportation of Wooll) although we Yearly take of his Commodities, to the value of above a *Million* of Pounds *Sterling*, and I meane in the second place, the making that unfortunate Act against the Importation of *Irish Cattle*, which hath not only tended to the ruine of the Grower, but to the ruine of the *Clothier*, and to the ruine of the very Trade of *England* it self; and which if it should continue to stand un-repealed, must necessarily, and inevitably ruine more and more: Both the *Gentry*, *Merchant*, and *Clothier* every day.

And therefore as a further Proof of what I say I shall give one instanca instead of many, and leave the Truth of it to be strictly examined, and judged accordingly; which is, that since

since the said accedents have befallen us (I mean of the *French Kings Arbitrary Impositions* upon us, and that *Act* against the *Importation of Irish Cattle*) *Exeter* alone, hath lost of what it did formerly Vend, near, if not above *three Hundred Thousand Pound Sterling* every Year; And if we shall reckon Proportionably for all other Countries and Cities, we shall then easily see there is a Just Ground for the Decay of our *Woollen-Manufacture*, and for the fall of the Price of our *Wooll* by it, and for the fall and ruin of our Rents, not as my *Opponent* Alleageth by reason of the Prohibition of Transporting our *Wooll*, but truly and really by reason of the Multiplication and Increase of our *Wooll*, to that degree, that the Exportation of it hath almost been Necessary, in the Judgment of some.

The serious consideration of which true and real cause of the decay of our *Manufacture*, I shall humbly leave to the Wisdom of the Parliament. And shall likewise leave it to their Wisdom to be considered, whether in this Conjunction of Affairs, and according to the Circumstances which now attend Us, while our Neighbours do not only Emulate us, but are become actual Rivals with us, not only for our *Clothing*, but for our *Trade* it self; and for our Strength and Dominion at Sea, we shall, or ought so far to contribute towards the Design, and towards the Certainty and Effectualness of our own Ruine, to permit at any rate our *Wooll* to be Exported, and by this means make our Neighbours scorn the *Commerce* and *Trade* they formerly had with us, and thanked us for.

But if any Caveller should say that after all I cannot deny, but there is a surplus of *Wooll* which cannot be wrought up by *Clothiers* at home, and that I offer not one word, how it should for the future be disposed of: (I answer)

1. That it appeareth not by any thing which my *Opponent* hath hitherto said, at least not by any thing that he hath hitherto proved, that the *Clothier* either cannot or doth not work up the *Wooll* of the proper growth of *England* to the full of it, but if a far greater quantity of *Wooll* be brought into *England* from *Ireland* then ever until of late Years, as the *Clothier* cannot be

Responsible for his not Buying up all the Wool which is sent into *England*, so neither can he or ought he to be Responsible for the Glut proceeding from the Importation of it, or for the cheapness of the said Wool, by reason of the said Glut. Notwithstanding which Glut I may presume to say, (or at least to suppose) that if an account was taken both in *Ireland* and *England* before the time of shearing, there will not be found one quarters Growth, or at the most 6 Months Un-Manufactured, in the greatest Year of plenty of Wool and dulness of Trade; which duly considered, doth require more care for a stock beforehand in *England*, and not to suffer it to be Engrossed and Stored up in *France* and *Holland* as now it is: Which is the true cause of keeping our Markets low for our Manufacture, and consequently that of Wool also, which when our Trade shall be revived and brought into the right Channel, will be Encouraged by a full Employment, we might finde a want of Wool before the next shearing; notwithstanding our great complaint of a Surplus of Wool, as it hath frequently accorded in *Corn* very lately, and more formerly as in *Sr. Walter Rawley's* Remains.

2. If the proper and only way for removing all evil effects, be to remove their respective causes, and that this is and must be acknowledged by all rational Persons, then considering what we have said before, and not only said but proved and made it appear, (*Viz.*) that the cause of the said Surplus of Wool (with the Cheapness of it at present) among us, is partly from the *Irish* Act that Prohibiteth the bringing in of live Cattle, and puts the Kingdom upon the Breeding of Wool whether they will or no, and partly by the Decay of our Manufacture, through the supply that we our selves do make to our Neighbours of our own Wool, for the Promoting of their Manufacture, to the Ruine of our Selves.

The proper Remedy then, for the removing the Cheapness of our Wool on the one hand, and Employing our Poor, and Recovering of our Trade on the other hand, must necessarily be the Restraining the Export of it from *Ireland*, and from hence.

And here I must take the Boldness to say that where a Nation is not Rich in Mines of *Gold* and *Silver*, it is not capable of being Enriched any other way, than by its Manufacture.

And consequently if it be from our Manufactures alone, that the Riches of this Nation comes, and if it be from our Manufacture chiefly that our Shipping is Employed, and our *Marriners* bread, if it be from our Trading alone, and from the Riches which our Trading brings in, that his Majesties Customs are Raised, and that our Fleet have been hitherto Built and Maintained, and the Dominion of the Seas hath been Preserved, than it is and must be from our Manufacture only that our *Bullion* hath been brought in, and that the Rents of our *Nobility* and *Gentry* doth Depend and are Sustained.

And therefore it must be granted me, that there is no higher Intrest in the Nation, than that which preserves his Majesties Customes, and that which Sustains the *Nobility* and *Gentrys* Rents, and that which Supports our Navy and Shipping.

Then in regard our Manufacture alone doth all this, our *Manufacture* alone and the Encouragement of it must necessarily be the greater Intrest of the Nation it self: And I must crave leave to say that whoever placeth it in any thing else (as the circumstances of this Nation stands at present) must either mistake the Intrest of this Nation, or can be no Friend to *England*.

Wherefore it must needs be plain to every person, that not only the breeding of Wooll, but the disposing of it, and the disposing of it to most Advantage, is now become the Intrest of the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, *Yeomanry*, and of all others whatsoever that have a concern for the good of *England* and *Ireland*, and it ought to be Indulged to none besides our Selves, whose whole proper and intire Intrest it is, to be *Sole Manufacturers*, or *Workers* of it.

This Satisfaction also I had to encourage me to reprint my Sentiments, and Observations (*viz.*) that by one Gentleman a true lover of his Country's Good; whome I take liberty to name for his Honour, which is *Thomas Manly Esq.* of *Kent*, who in 1677. published a Discourse, shewing how far Exportation of

of Wooll is Distructive to this Kingdom; whose own words do best shew his well grounded Judgment and faithful regard to *Englands* welfare, I Transcribe them as they stand, as an answer to the slender Reasons meanly alleadged in favour of Transportation of Wooll, which are as followeth; *Viz.*

1. *Our store of Wooll (say they) is so great, that we have sufficient both for our selves and Neighbours-*

2. *Its free and unrestrained Exportation will occasion a greater encrease in its price, which will sustain our drooping Rents, and draw considerable sums of Money from abroad, for so desirable a Commodity.*

3. *That tho we use all care imaginable to prevent its Exportation, yet our Neighbours, by means of our own People, draw great quantities from us.*

4. *'Tis to small purpose to keep our wooll at home, for that Ireland supplies our Neighbours therewith to a great degree.*

5. *This Prohibition of wooll is a new practice, unknown to us till within these twenty years, and yet before that time, both wooll and Drapery yielded the best Rates for above 60 years last past.*

To the First I Answer.

1. That I conceive our Yearly encrease of Wooll is now no greater than when the Rates were double, nay treble, to what they now are; and if so, the fall and meanness of the price proceeds purely from the loss of Forreign Markets for our Drapery, and from our own forsaking the wear of it, and not from the quantity above what we had 30 or 40 years ago.

2. 'Tis very manifest how the Rates of Wooll these last 15 or 16 years, have graduly fald from bad to worse, and how as by degrees we have encreased in the wearing of Silk, Camlets, and frowlie *French* Drugets, and as our Neighbours, especially the *French*, have enlarg'd their Woollen-Manufacture by means of our Wooll, which they mix with theirs, just so have the Rates of this Commodity with us sunk almost beyond belief.

3. That seeing we have a multitude of People, who for want of employment, want bread, and that the price of Wooll here is so low as to tempt us to let out that commodity, which the wisdom of this Trading Age hath hitherto secured

under Publick Prohibition, as being the prime fund of our Trade and Navigation, and which is so necessary to our active Neighbours, that no Laws, how Penal soever, have yet totally debar'd them from it, what do we else by such a design, but declare that henceforth, being not able to manage that Manufacture, we abandon all thoughts of an advantagious commerce, necessitate our people to live on us, or dye at our doors, and surrender to our Neighbours that Manufacture for which we were so notorious? is not, this at once, *to cast the Childrens bread to strangers*; and to remain for ever without hopes to maintain, after such a dereliction, any Manufacture which our Neighbours may have a mind to snatch from us?

4. If our Neighbours could have Wooll as good to all intents and purposes, and as plentiful and cheap from other Countries, it might peradventure, be advisable, how far we ought to keep ours at home; but the case being otherwaies, and they (our Rivals) being not able to carry on that *Manufacture* effectually without it, it seems a great mistake and dangerous to spare it on any terms.

To the second Reason; *That it will occasion the Rates of Wooll to rise, and thereby sustain our drooping Rents, &c.*

I Answer.

1. The ~~we~~ and use of Silk, Camlets, &c. have so far sup- planted that of Drapery in *Europe*, that we must never rationally expect those Rates for Wooll which were usually given 30 or 40 years ago.

2. If we find bad markets for Drapery now Wooll is cheap 'tis very improbable our Neighbours will take so much Wooll from us as to raile the price thereof to that degree as may sustain our falling Rents; for the dearer we sell them our Wooll the dearer they must sell their Drapery, and consequently sell so much less; or else it will be our shame or ill fortune that they shall vent much Drapery made of dear Wooll, and we vend little or none, now Wooll is cheap.

3. The more Markets our Neighbours supply with Drapery, by means of our Wooll, the less Drapery we must Export; the

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reason is, because there is a certain and determined quantity of Cloth consum'd by the Trading World; whence it must necessarily follow that so much Wooll as they receive from us, so much less Drapery we our selves shall Export, and consequently the price of Wooll remain the same it was before those Laws were repeal'd.

4. Upon repealing those Laws we may bid adue to the Exportation of Drapery; the reason is, because our Neighbours live, worke and Navigate cheaper than we; and having once our Wooll in common, must necessarily undersell, and beat us out of Trade: It being a great mistake to imagine that the Exportation of our Wooll and Drapery may consist together; and as great a mistake to suppose that the pretended encrease of the Rates of Wooll occasioned by an allowance of its Exportation, may ballance the mischiefs accruing thereby; because *a Pound of Wooll Manufactured and Exported, is of more worth to as by employing our People, than ten Pound Exported now at double the present Rates*; unless, which is not reasonable to imagine, we could introduce some other better employment for them.

5. If our Neighbours tread on our heels in this *Manufacture*, begin to supply us with their Drapery at home, and to supplant us therewith abroad, having only their own coarse Wooll; which they mix with ours obtained at dear rates (by reason of secrecy and many chargeable contrivances alwaies attending a Prohibited traffick) there is no doubt, when once the prohibition is removed, and they by that means plentifully supply'd therewith (which in an open and allowed commerce is alwaies cheapest) but that they will soon beat us wholly out of that Trade, and by consequence e're long out of all other Commerce and Navigation to boot.

6. The Exportation of our Wooll will be so far from sustaining our drooping Rents, that tho we may Export the whole yearly growth thereof, yet I conceive it will not answer the value of our Drapery, which hitherto we have yearly Exported, and by consequence, so much loss must redound to us, as

the Wooll Exported may be of less value than our Drapery; without any consieration had to the want of employment for our People, or to the insignificant Navigation which the Freight of Wooll will occasion, compared with that of Drapery; and how Politick it may be to lessen the value of our Exits, which already are so trivial, and so exceedingly overballanced by Importations to foment our luxury, I leave to the judgment of every Man, who considers that 'tis the Exportation of the Growth and Manufactures, which deserves the name of Trade, and makes a Nation Rich.

7. But suppose that by repeal of the Laws the value of our Wooll should rise considerably (which for the reasons already given is very improbable) whereby our Neighbours should be enabled to manage that important Manufacture, which otherwise they could never effect, must it not necessarily follow, that as they enlarge their Drapery so ours must lessen, and gradually shrink to nothing, our Navigation decline for want of so staple a Commodity wherewith to Traffick, our Treasure yet more conveyed abroad to manage a wanton and Luxurious Commerce, multitudes of our People who subsisted by that Manufacture Exposed to ruine, and as many in every Age, thereby becoming useles and poor, must become chargable, and may become dangerous to the Kingdom: all which must and will inevitably subdue our Rents to a degree far beyond any relief or benifit, we may reasonably expect from any increase of the price of Wooll, occasioned by the repeal of our Laws: hence an experienced Merchant, who in other Commodities was himself a great smugler, us'd to say, that the offence of Exporting Wooll, was like that *Sin not to be forgiven; (tho' of an higher Nature)* nor can the injury then be less to the Common-Wealth if it go out by a Law?

To the third Reason for repealing our Laws; *That our Neighbours with the help of our People, get great quantities of our Wooll daily from us, notwithstanding those Laws to the contrary.*

I Answer.

1. That such practices are shrewd evidences of what esteem that commodity is among them, and that what is thus purloyned

ned, cost the Receiver dear, by reason of secrecy, subtil contrivances, &c. as hath been already hinted; (for who will venture hanging for nothing?) which upon repealing those Laws will come freely to them, without any such incumbrances, and consequently cheaper, whereby they may be enabled to contest with us in this important Manufacture on even Terms.

2. Our Neighbours by these under practices either have or have not sufficient of our Wooll already; if they have, there will be no need of repealing those Laws, and we may justly charge the present dullness of Forreign Markets for our Drapery, upon the Export of our Wooll by these vile practices; which must needs grow worse when those Laws are repealed; but if they have not enough by reason of the prohibition, let us thank the Laws for it; and yet observe that 'tis a pregnant Argument that by our Wooll, thus unduly obtained, they manage a considerable Manufacture, for it seems they get great quantities from us; and that if they had more they would enlarge their commerce, which must necessarily undermine and lessen ours.

3. It is better particular Persons do Acts hurtful to the Publick against Law, than for want of a Law, because this latter would reflect on the wisdom of the Government.

4. Should we repeal the Laws against the Exportation of Wooll, because against Law Wooll is exported, we should transcribe their wisdom that would repeal Laws against Felony, because ill Men contrary to Law commit Robberies; or immitate those who will not shut their doors because Thieves sometimes break in at the windows.

To the fourth Reason, That 'tis to small purpose to keep our Wooll at home, for that Ireland supplies our Neighbours therewith, &c.

Answer:
If this be true, it is to small purpose to permit its Exportation in hopes to put a better value on it, which is the most avowed reason for the repeal: for if our Neighbours be plentifully supplied therewith from Ireland, where 'tis much cheaper at present than with us, (and probably ever will) there

is small reason to expect better Rates for Ours: for who will give us six pence for that pound of Wooll, which in *Ireland* may be had for four pence? unless it may be granted that ours is better than that of *Ireland*; which few of the Adjutors will, for certain Reasons, be willing to confess.

2. If the *Irish* Wooll enables the Forreigner to carry on that Manufacture to a degree hurtful to us, we have small reason to assist them further therein by affording them ours, seeing they enjoy advantages, too many already; least we immitate those good Men, who break the pot because their Wives break the pitcher; ruine our selves because *Ireland* hurts us.

To the last Reason, that the prohibition of Wooll is a new practice unknown to us till within this twenty years, and yet before that time, both Wooll and Drapery yielded the best Rates, for above 60 years last past.

I Answer.

1. That 'tis very true, but it does not follow that the prohibition was therefore necessary, or that the same brought a prejudice upon either; but that other reasons already given, must be assigned for the fall and meanness of the Rates of those Commodities; it being no wayes questionable, but that the Exportation of our Drapery had long since expired, had not the prohibition of Wooll interposed.

2. Statutes are provided to answer the present emergencie and reason of Affaires, and adapted to the occasion and Interest of the Age wherein they are made, so that what was judged unnecessary in former Ages, may be of superlative use in this; and if the reason thereof again cease, may be as insignificant in the next.

3. We had no need of such restraining Laws long before they were enacted; for till the peace of *Munster*, *England* alone enjoyed almost the whole Manufacture of *Europe*: But *France* (who then also received Woollen-Drapery from us) agitated since that peace by a most sagacious Counsel (who understands the advantages of Manufactures and Navigation) and filld with

an active and enterprising People, 'has unhappily added that Manufacture to the many other advantages they enjoy for commerce, above most other Nations ; and hath all things propitious for the managing thereof except fine Wooll, such as ours is, to mix with their own : Must our Ancestours proceedings then who were governed by reasons far different from ours, be presidents to us ? or is it not rather high time to employ our utmost skill to retain so necessary a Commodity at home.

I have lately met with one Merchant of no small pretences to the intrigues of Trade, who, although he will not allow that the Rates of Wooll may encrease upon the repeal of our Laws, (which is the prime reason alleadged for repeal of the prohibition) yet affirms that if the prohibition were removed, and due Imposts charged upon Wooll, it might thereby, better than the prohibition, be either retained at home, or rendred so chargeable to our Neightours, that we might have sufficient advantages over them in that Manufacture.

To which, I Answer.

1. That he which affirms all this, must maintain, that either His Majesties Officers of His Customs will be more industrious to Collect the Duties, and Imposts so to be charged on this Commodity, than they were to make Seizures of it by vertue of the prohibition, tho' they had a Moyety of the Seizure, or that the Exporters will be more consciencious in paying His Majesties Impostes, than they were in obeying His Laws which prohibited the Exportation, tho' they ventured their Necks into the bargain, or that the Forreigner may be less desirous of it after the repeal than before.

2. The Imposts must be either much, or little ; if much, it may be worth venturing to save the payment ; as is so frequently practised in payments of the like nature ; but if they be little, the payment of them will be easily ballanced, by the advantages our Neighbour have over us in cheap dyer, labour, &c. as has been already shewed.

If, to what has been said, it be replied, that it is better Export Wooll, than neither Wooll nor Drapery.

I Rejoyn.

1. That it is so, were it true that we Exported no Drapery, and

and remained without hopes of ever sharing again in Forreign Markets: but thanks be to God Matters are not yet arrived to so ill terms, and probably never will, unless some aspiring Neighbour (who may design to engross all Traffick) beat us out of the *Mediterranean* Sea, or that we let out our Wooll by a Law.

2. If we do yet more effectually provide to keep our Wooll at home, 'tis a thousand to one but our Drapery will off: but if once we Export our Wooll by a Law (charge it with what Impost, and confine it to what Ports and seasons you please, as some vainly or silly propose) we may bid an Eternal adieu to the Exportation of our Woollen-Manufacture.

Who will buy our Wooll, seeing we slight it our selves? will the *French*? to what end? to employ their People, and carry on a Manufacture as universal as their other designs, have they not of late charged our drapery with heavy impositions, meerly to discourage its coming among them, the better to employ their own people? and must we then return the civility with such advantage to them?

4. And lastly, to Export our Wooll because at present we want vent for our Drapery, is for ever to confirme in that want; and is a choyce like pulling down my house for fear it may be burnt, or like hanging my self least any other kill me.

Thus far Mr. Manley; but before I Conclude, give me leave to ad one Testimony more, Written by an unknown Author; under the name of a Letter from a Younger Brother in Ireland, to an Elder Brother in England: Occasioned by the Act against Irish Cattle, Printed the same Tear 77. the sum of which followeth, viz.

THe fall of Rents, cheapness of Wooll, and decay of Manufacture in England, being Suggested to be principally occasioned by *Ireland*, the *Irish* Cattle were thereupon Prohibited, by an Act of Parliament, and declared to be a publick Nufance.

Ad-

Admitting that some of those Counties might be prejudiced by the Importation of *Irish* Cattle, yet whatsoever profit accrued to others by it, did upon the mutual necessities of all, settle into the common Stock of the Nation. And it seems but reasonable that whatsoever private obligation a Parliament-Man hath to the place where he is Elected, yet, when once he comes to sit, his Trust and his mind is enlarged, and he does no more consider himself as the Politician of a Shere, or the Patron of a Borrough; but as a Representor of the universality: whereas otherwise, if any County, one or more chance to be more Fertile than other in Members of Parliament, and they Act by such narrow Measures; the decision would be by multitude, not by Reason.

And notwithstanding if we were to tell Counties, those that are not advantaged and are really agrieved, make the greatest plea, for if we account like Merchants by Profit and loss, all the profit that can be made (and that very small) by this Act, returns to such Counties which are proper for breeding, and that small profit is lost to them, if not much more by their Corn for want of Trade by it, and the whole Nation hath hereby lost in great measure the vent of its home and Forreign Commodities to *Ireland*, and the increasing product to *England* in general by *Irish* Cattle, in *Specie*.

But as to the Political Point, you did herein, as much as in you then lay to cut off all that stronge as more Natural dependance of *Ireland* upon *England*, and to govern it rather by the force of Authority, than by the Influential benignity of Intrest.

Ireland being thus exposed, their Corn not fit for Transportation put them upon increasing their Flocks of Sheep, which produced great quantities of Wooll, by which means the price in *England* consequently decreased, through the whole Kingdome, though the *Irish* Wooll with the duty in *Ireland* freights and Facturing, the Charges wear 2d Per Pound, for that in the judgment of some, as the *Irish* Cattle was grown to a Nufance so the increase of Wooll occasioned by the Prohibiting Act, comes to the same Fate.

That as among our *English* Gentry, whose Rents depend upon the product of Wooll, doe find their Estates by the late cheapness of it, much reduced, yet there are other reasons than *Irish* Wooll.

But than first of the Manufacture in *Ireland*, about 20 years some Westren Clothiers reduced to extream poverey, moved themselves and their Families over into *Ireland*, invited by the cheapness of Wooll and Victuals there, which Errected then a Manufacture at *Dublin*, which hath since increased. About the same time 60 Families from *Holland* come to *Lymrick* which by the occasion of the succeeding Warr decayed; but after this more of the *English* Clothiers went over and fixed about *Cork* and *King-sale*, where they continue and are grown not inconsiderable: some *French* have since resorted to *waterford*, to make Druggets there, and other Commodities of their fashion, and about a year or two agoe some Merchants of *London* raised another Manufacture at *Clonmell*, managing it by Agents.

But a more evident and certain reason of yours and our consuming for want of vent or consumption, is the wares with which formerly, and of late years *Europ* has generally been infested, so that in most parts thereof which were supplied from you, the People have been much Impoverished, and thereby necessitated to be their own Clothier first and from thence Enabled, (industry increasing,) some of them to furnish their Neighbours. And so this several of your own Subjects have concurred, who either not finding themselves well and easie at home, or intised over by greater profit, have instructed Foreigners in the whole Mystery of Clothing, till they now have made it a staple Commodity, thus by the reciprocation of humane Affairs, that Trade which the Warrs, upon the foreigners refuge with you, first introduced, is upon occasion of the Warrs recovered back again, and the Drapery restored to them in great measure, even by the means of your own Subjects, furnishing them with Wooll. But the grand Spring of this whole Matter lies in *France*, that King is a most vigilant and

Poten

Potent Prince &c. for he hath made Warr with all *Europe*, with his Sword, against his Enemies; but against his Frinds by Trafique; which is indeed as the more just, so the most effectual way of destroying them: But among all, none hath on this later account more suffered than *England*, for besides the Wine which we purchas at most Excessive Rates, and for the most part with pure Money; and besides these Trinkets, of which we are so fond, and to the making of which the *French* Genius was formerly Adapted, he hath now for many years, applyed his People to the more solid Trades of Cloth, and Stuffs; indeed of all things valuable, embracing in effect, or in projection, the universal Monarchy of Commerce; never did any Prince except ours, addict himself so wholly to the encouragement of Trade and Navigation, &c. To this he hath either wholly Prohibited, or, which is *Tantamount*, laid so excessive Impositions upon all *English* Manufacture, &c. that they are in a manner totally excluded, and you have no Commodity to exchange with, but whatever you have of his must be Bought with a Penny, insomuch that I have seen hear a particular, drawn up as tis said in your Parliament; wherein they computed besides, the *Lucrum Cessarium*, that your Nation sustains a clear loss of Eleven Hundred Thousand Pounds Yearly by the *French* Trade; hereby the *French*, that were before, at best, but the *Milliners* of *Europe*, are now become, or pretend to be, the *Cape Merchants*, and their King gives, not only the Mode, but the Garment to all *Christendome*; and the World puts it self into his Livery at their own Expences; well may you complain of the Death rather than the Deadness of your Manufacture, when from this Cause it receives such an obstruction, even to Suffocation; when you are not only deprived of that general and gainful vent that you had formerly in *France* it self, but in all other Places where you Traffique, you meete the *French* now at every turn; and the Forreign Post brings news from all Parts that they are before you, and have undersold you in the same Commodities.

And to this Disease so Mortal, and which is beyond any privat Man to remedy, your selves do more particularly contribute, by those vast quantities of Wooll which they tell us here, are daily and now more than ever Transported for *France* (a thing that you always prohibited, but it seems, at least some of, you always Tolerate) so that in effect *Calice* is still no less your Staple, than while it was formerly under the *English* Dominion, I will not excuse *Ireland* from the same Crime; altho' in less Proportion; but you have I hear, a *Milicia*, that in Defiance of all Authority, Convey their Wooll to the Shallop with such Strength that your Officers dare not offend them: While whatsoever we do of that kind, is more Modest; and wheresoever it looses its way afterwards at Sea, it is first entred for *England*, and pays, both the King's Duty and that to the Lord Lievtenant, for Licence; so that as we cannot Trade, so neither can we Steal with you on equal Terms; by this time I hope you are satisfied and convinced that *Ireland* deserves not your Complaint, but your Pity; and that those things which some have ascribed to us, are but the common Calamity of both Nations, occasioned by the Flux of Humane Affairs and Accidents of the present Conjunction thorow *Europe*; and therefore that you will not only consult how to redress our common Greivance, but that you will also remedy those more particular Pressures that we suffer by or, under you: Whether you will think fit to reverse your Act against our Cattle, I know not; nor can I answer for the Effect that it would produce; but I have often observed how gladly Waters that have been diverted, return and fall into their former Channel.

Though I am no Politician, dare say in General, that it concerns you to use us kindly, and to Indulge us in all things that tend to Civilize, Cultivate, and People this Nation.

F I N I S.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
 Your obedient servant,
 John C. Calhoun

21717

AN
ABSTRACT
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS
TO PREVENT
EXPORTATION
OF
WOOL
Un-manufactured

From the Y E A R 1667. to this present
Year 1689.

By *William Carter* Clothier.

L O N D O N Printed by *J Streater*, for the
Author *Anno. Dom. MD LXXXIX.*

To the Honorable the Lords of the Privy Council
In Great Britain
A B S T R A C T
OF
THE
PROCEEDINGS
IN
THE
EXHIBITION
OF
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M A N U F A C T U R E S
IN
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To the Merchants, Clothiers, Factors and Packers &c.

IT may seem strange to some, that after above 20 Years time, expence of my small Estate, Loosing a Profitable Trade; and Adventuring my Life so often (as one late Action in Lew, of many set down in the close of these Sheets; will plainly evidence) that after all this I am constrained to make an Appology to those for whom, and for whose Intrest I have with so much Cander and Freedom, to my own loss exposed my self, I must confess I expected better usage from some than I have yet received. But since most cannot be Ignorant of the truth of this abstracted Narrative, and that in it I have espoused your Cause, and engaged in your Quarrel, and so long Fought your Battels; It will not therefore I hope be thought unreasonable, if I do now expect but what is just and Equitable from Reasonable men: And though the discouragements set forth in a late Treatise called the Golden-Fleece, which by and by followeth, might have made me despair of any farther attempt, yet notwithstanding those discouragements, the earnest desire of my Countries good, did prevail with me above all other considerations whatsoever, not to consult those discouragements but to proceed in this Work, a part of which is contained in the following Sheets, wherein I have with so much difficulty waded through those Troubles upward of 20 Years.

Here see what W. S. saith: Now to shew you more particularly these abuses, how the Laws are crossed and daily obstructed to such as endeavour to serve their Country, by such as ought to encourage the Prosecutors; sure there will be very many practices of evil consequents discovered; for first in the Custom-House, where Bonds are taken, to the intent that these prohibited Commodities pass not by means of Wariners out of the Nation, but only from Port to Port for accomodation of such parts as want such commodities; they are very Remiss and careless in taking of the Sea-mens discharge of their Obligatory Conditions; where also it is usual with the Sea-men to bring fraudulent Certificates, and so to cheat the Kings Providence, who keeps Servants at great wages purposely to prevent such abuses; or if there be a regular return of their Bonds, yet there is commonly a fraudulency in giving them, for the Masters of Ships will so contrive their designe, as he who is Master at giving the Bonds, and is legally bound, shall immediately pay his Intrest to another man, who taking charge of the Vessel and Voyage, is notwithstanding not engaged in the Port Bond; and therefore neither is he accountable for breach of their condition; Again, when the Port Bonds are justly taken, and as justly returned; yet to prevent the true and real detetion of the Offender, and to dishearten the legal Prosecutor, some Friends of the Offender will stop an Information against him, purposely to hinder and divert others, and soon after will let the Prosecution fall at his pleasure; nay, it hath been said, and peradventure not unjustly, that such preventing Informations have been antitedated to the overthrow of the real Information; but when all is granted, and a full and formal hearing, and decree passed to the just condemnation of the Offender: Yet when Judgments and Inquiries are granted, and

and do without Errors of the Clerks, (which is not always,) impower the Sheriffs and their Bailiffs to see Execution thereof made; it is familiar with those Officers to return a Non est inventus, or a Mortuus est, viz. Not to be found, or dead, even then when the Offenders and the Officers have been known to have been drinking together, at that very time when the Writ should have been executed.

After all this, one step farther will shew how Charity it self abuseth Justice; for let all the former Proceedings be granted, and be candid, and clear, and that the Law be indeed justly and legally executed, the Offender in custody, and nothing remaining; but that he honestly discharge himself with money, seeing Bail will not be admitted; nevertheless upon a lamentable petition, and urging a great charge of Children to the Bench, the Offender is usually admitted to compound for Ten in the Hundred, or less, when by his Offence he hath gained a Hundred for Ten, or more, and peradventure he hath undone a hundred Families or more in so doing: Yet all this while the honest Prosecutor, the only man that appears for the good of his Country, who ought by the Law to have the full benefit and advantage of the Law grati, it being enough that he spend his time for the promotion of the publick wealth after it hath cost him several great sums of Money, and large expence of time, to bring the Offender to Tryal and Conviction, is dismissed with little or no satisfaction, unless he be rewarded with the brand of an Informing Knave: Surely they who made these Laws for the benefit of themselves and their own Countrey, did intend a more current and just pass get towards them, than thus to be obstructed and baffled. Such abuses as these made Theodosius say, as it is recorded, that a wise man did himself Injustice by hazarding his Wife and Estate for the benefit of his Nation. Nor is the Law in these by their Transportation all the injury, but when honest men well affected to the good of the Country, do detect these Caterpillars of the Common-wealth, who make so vast gain, as hath been denoted upon the materials so carefully prohibited, when they do endeavour by due course of Law to make stopp ge the evil, and to have the Offenders punished; so many are the evasions, such combinations and interest in the Officers, who ought to punish the Offenders; such favour have they in Courts of Justice and deceptions in the Return of Writs, and in general such affronts and discouragements as the dearest Lover of his Country, or most intrusted in Trade, dares not attempt to prevent that mischief which his Eyes behold to fall upon his Nation, or which his own person feels to pick his Pocket.

Before all which the Personal affronts, and false accusations I have met withall, not only from the open Enemies to the Merchants, Clothiers and Factors, but from some others that I thought had greatly obliged, by so many repeated Kindnesses done to them, were sufficient to make me solve never to be concerned in such Thankless Offices, with so much cost and hazard of my Life as before mentioned, but the motive singly Inducing me thereunto, is the absolute necessity that this Affair requires, and that no one hath adventured to be my second, upon such uncertain Terms as I have done this said 20 Years.

The following Sheets being printed the last Year, its desired the Reader will be pleased to mend these Erates with his Penn.

ERRATA

Page 1. line 21. in stead of Late Majesty, read K. Char. 2d. p. 1. 25. read as before. p. 5. l. 4. in stead of late Majesty, read K. Ch. 2d. p. 7. l. 2. in stead of 71. read 72. p. 8. l. 6. in stead of late Majesty, read K. Ch. 2d. l. 8. the same, p. 10. l. 1. read late King James p. 11. l. 6. in stead of Peasen, read Person, in the same p. 7. l. of Petition, in stead of no, read on.

The Contents,

That in Nov. 1667. I discovered great quantities of Wooll that had been exported in August before, from Rumney-marsh (and seized some) and also from Ireland, and discovered the same to the Parliament then sitting, p. 1st. I petitioned K. Ch. 2d. for a Party of Horse in Rumney-marsh, and some Frigats at Sea, which was granted, and thereby great quantities of Wooll were prevented from Exportation, i. b.

Sept. 1668, I made Proposals to the said K. Ch. to prevent the Exportation of Wooll, which was referred to the Council of Trade, and reported, p. 2d.

August, 69 I Addressed the said King, about Ireland, which was referred to the Ld. Roberts then going, and good effects there were preventing great quantities of Wooll from being carried beyond sea, i. b.

About the said Mon. of August, I made a discovery of 5 Kessels that came into Callice with Wooll, and obtained the then Lord Keepers Letters, &c. p. 2d. and 3d.

By a Report from the Lord Chief Baron, in January 1671, of the effects of my pursuing the former discovery, p. 6th.

In the said Tear of 71, I prevented a design of Transporting Wooll from Ireland, p. 19.

That I prosecuted at the Assizes in Maidston in Kent, four Persons, and convicted the same, p. 7th.

An Abstract of an Advertisement to the Merchants, and Clothiers in the Tear 1672, p. 16. 17. 18.

In the Tear 1678, I prevented the design of Mr. Monk, of lessening the penalties of the Laws for the preventing the Exportation of Wooll, p. 8th.

The Contents,

In the Year 1684, I prevented a farther design of the said Mr Monk, in a Commission, and petitioned the Lords of the Treasury to Impower the severall Companies of Merchants &c. To take a particular care of that Affair, and thereupon I did then affresly undertake to look after it, and I prevented great quantities of Wooll that Year from Exportation, p. 9th.

In the Year 85, I attended the Parliament, for the Passing of a Bill, and petitioned the late King for 2 Sloops to Cruise upon the Seas, and did obtain them, tho' opposed by the then Commissioner of the Customs; by which means there was above 20 French Shallops taken, and condemned, with 2 or 300 Baggs of Wooll, besides much cast over-board, p. 10th.

That in May 1686, I did request, and did obtain an Order from the then Lord Treasurer, to bring up the Wooll which was condemned, to London, and to be sold to the Clothiers, which before used to be sold after Seazure, to those that had exported it, and then exported by them again, p. 11th.

That in Dece. 1686, I discovered a design of gaining a License to Export 6000 Baggs of Wooll from Ireland, and prevented the same, p. 12th.

A discovery of a Confederacy betwixt the Officers of the Customs and the Exporters of Wooll, p. 12th. 13th.

The Difficulty I was put to, and Examinations at the Treasury p. 14th. 15th.

An Abstract of an Advertisement to the Merchants and Clothiers in the Year 1682, p. 16th. 17th. 18th.

In the Year 1687, I prevented the design of the Lord Treasurer to export the Wooll of the Kingdom, p. 18th.

THE PROCEEDINGS

Of William Carter Against TRANSPORTATION

OF WOOLL

WHereas divers Merchants, Clothiers and Factors, upon consideration of the great detriment that accrued to this Kingdom, and to the Woollen Trade thereof, in that great quantities of Wooll were transported frequently into *France, Holland, and Flanders &c.* did desire and encourage me, to endeavour the preventing the same; which being readily willing to undertake, I perceived that tho' there were many severe Laws made against exporting wooll, and tho' the wisdom of our Ancesters found it so mischeivous and destructive to this Kingdom, as to make the Offence Capital; notwithstanding either by the wilful corruption, or gross neglect of Officers, great quantities of Wooll were clandestinely exported, by those who, for a little private gain to themselves, dare venture their Necks, to ruin the Trade of a Nation.

Applying my self therefore cheerfully to so necessary a Work in *August 1667*, I made a discovery of twelve *French* Shallops loaded in one Night, from *Rumney-Marsh* in *Kent*, with considerable quantities of Wooll, and sometime afterwards, I caused a quantity of Wooll, to be seized as it was carrying on the Beach, near *Canter Point* in the said *Marsh*, in order to be shipped on board some Shallops, that lay in *Rye Harbour*.

I also discovered great quantities of Wooll, likewise exported beyond Sea out of *Ireland*; although in that Kingdom, the exportation thereof be also prohibited, unless the same by Licence be exported into *England*.

At the next Parliament, in *November 1667*, I presented the exportation of Wooll, and the National Dangers thereof, to the House of Commons, which being referred to a Committee, to consider of, they examining of the *Irish* exportations, soon found the ground of that Mischiefe to be, that under colour of a Licence granted by his late Majesty, to export some hundred Packs of Wooll, several thousand Packs were colour'd by that Licence from *Ireland*: Upon which the said Committee made an Address to his said Majesty, to revoke the said Licence, for the apparent frauds practised therein, which his Majesty accordingly did.

After the adjournment of that Parliament, upon the importunity of the said Merchants, and finding the Wooll-exporters, by their impunity grown to such confidence, as to Ship off their Wooll openly in the day time, with armed Men to assist them, in the doing thereof; I petitioned his said Majesty for a party of Horse to scout about *Rumney Marsh*, and some Frigats to cruise at Sea; to prevent those exportations, which by his said Majestys Grace and Favour I did obtain, and by my attendance, sometimes at Sea, and sometimes at Land, with one and sometimes two Servants, did prevent the exportation of above one Thousand Packs of Wooll that Summer from the said *Marsh*, and by that means was bought up by the Clothiers and Staplers, which the Year before was most of it Exported.

In *September 1668*, I presented some proposals to his said Majesty in Council, in order to prevent the said exportations, which were referred the 20th of *November* following to the Council, of Trade, with this particular Order, (*Viz.*) "You are very strictly to enquire, and inform your selves by what ways and practises the Wooll of this Kingdom comes to be stolen, embossed, and sent away into forreign Parts, contrary to Law; what places (*&c.*) are most suspected in *England* or else where, and who doth buy the said Wooll in those places, to the end that nothing of care or watch may be omitted, but that all such strict and severe courses be taken, that an evil, so mischeivous and inconvenient, may be to ally prevented.

When

When I carryed this Order, with my Proposals, to the said Council of Trade, they immediately chose a select Committee on purpose to peruse them, where I was ordered to attend, which attendance lasted a good part of that Winter; the said Committee summoned and heard divers Merchants, Clothiers, Factors, and Staplers, and then made their Report, which was Read before his Majesty in Council, upon which an Order was made the 2. of April 1669. in these words (*viz.*)

Whereas in pursuance of an Order of this Board, of the 20th. of November last, referring to the Council of Trade the Proposals of William Carter, for preventing the Exportation of Wooll; the said Council having returned their Report to the Board, that having discoursed with the said William Carter, and such other Persons, as they thought capable of giving them any good information, touching this matter, they find the Exportation of Wooll, is of a destructive consequence to the Trade of this Kingdom, and that the same hath grown into practice; as well by reason of the doubtfulness and provisions in the Statute made in the 12th. year of his Majesties Reign prohibiting the Exportation of Wooll, as by the neglect and remissness of Officers, in not putting the Laws in execution: And therefore proposed, that the care of that business, should be especially recommended to the President and Governors of Christs Hospital in London, for the several Reasons in the said Report, pursuant to which Report, his Majestie directed a Commission to pass under the great Seal of England for that purpose, to the said President and Governors; but before the Commission past under Seal, I did carry the said Report, and Order upon it to the President and Governors of the said Hospital, who immediately called a Court to be called, and upon reading thereof, did accept of that Authority then intended to be given them, upon which I informed the Council of their willingness therein, and did then proceed and sollicite the business so far, as to pass the Commission at my own charge, under the great Seal, and carried it to the President and Governors, in expectation they would have taken it upon them, as they had agreed, but in some short time after they declined the employment; and returned the Commission back to the King and Council, and plainly refused to act therein, upon some frivolous objections, without allowing me one penny for the money expended, which was not less then 40^l. besides my own Labour and Attendance.

The next Session of Parliament, being in the year 1669, Sir Orlando Bridgman the then Lord Keeper brought into the House of Lords an explanatory Bill for hindring the said Exportation, under some new penalties.

Before which time William Facon of Canterbury Wooll-Comber, and one Marsh of Hookham near Dover a Farmer, were brought up before the House of Commons for Exporting 44 Packs of Combed Wooll from Canterbury, where being examined, they were ordered to be tryed at the next Assizes at Maidstone in Kent, whereupon I was commanded by his Majestie and Council, to prosecute them according to Law for the said Felony; but when I came to Maidstone I could not hear of any such person, there being no Recognizance taken for their appearing there, nor any Witnesses attending to prove the fact, so I lost my journey but afterwards I understood that he had compounded with his Accusers, and taken off the Witnesses, so that the Order of the House of Commons, and his Majesties care therein, proved altogether ineffectual.

About August following in the same year 1669, understanding that the Late Earl of Radnor was designed to go Lord Lieutenant for Ireland, I petitioned his Majestie in Council, for some care to be taken in preventing the Exportation of Wooll from Ireland, who was pleased to Order a Letter in Council recommending the care thereof, to the said Lord Lieutenant, on whom I waited at his departure as far as St. Albans, and at my parting with his Excellency there, he promised to Act effectually therein, which his Lordship did accordingly: In so much, that within six weeks time after he came to Ireland, there were landed at Minchinham, above one thousand Packs of Wooll more in that time, than had been there landed within the like space of time, in any year before, and the like proportionable at Liverpool, Chester, Bristol and Barrow, which quantitie of Wooll in other years used to be Exported out of Ireland beyond the Seas upon pretence of being sent for England.

In a short time after, I made a discovery of five Vessels loaden with Wooll arrived at Calice in France, one of which, belonging to Dover, two to Folkstone, and two to Hythe in the County of Kent, upon which the Lord Keeper was ordered by the King in Council, to write a letter to the Mayors of Dover, Folkstone and Hythe, which was to this effect.

Gentlemen,

This bearer William Carter brings along with him a Coppy of an Information, concerning the Transportation of Wooll; but it being a matter of so high Concernment to his Majestie and this Kingdom, as scarce any thing more, to prevent the Transportation of Wooll, and the punishment of the Offenders: I do earnestly recommend it to you, to examine the Persons named in the Informations, and to make all the enquiry you can, concerning these and such others, as you shall have cause to suspect to be guilty in this kind; and to certifie what you find herein, that his Majestie in Council may give further Orders thereupon, not doubting of your care herein,

Your Loving Friend

Essex House, Aug. 30.

1669.

Orlando Bridgman.

With this Letter I rode Post to Dover, and having there secured one Thomas Pearce, a Master of one of the said Vessels; whilst he was examining before the Mayor, his wife being present, and hearing the names read of the other Masters at Folkestone, and Hythe in the Information mentioned, and her Husbonds Vessel then lying at Folkestone, she presently gets a Horse and rides thither, and discovers the business there; by which means, when I came to Folkestone, (tho' it was the same day) I was frustrated of my design there, the Mayor and Masters being all got out of the way before I came, but halting to Hythe, by chance met with one Mark Spicer, Master of another of the said Vessel: But before I could find the Mayor of Hythe, to examine the said Spicer, he made his escape towards Folkestone, whether I followed him, and just as he came to the Sea side, where a Boat lay to receive him, I seized him; but the Women of the Town being before alarmed by Pearce's Wife (it being all in one day) came out of their Houses, and gathered up Stones upon the Beach, which they flung about my ears so violently, that having no help, I was forced to quit my Prisoner, hardly escaping my self.

Returning back to London, and there being a Council designed to meet at Hampton Court, I went thither and waited on the Lord Keeper Bridgman, to whom I gave an account of my whole Journey, his Lordship ordered me to attend while the Council sat, which I did; and was then called in and related all the said particular passages to his Majestie, who was pleased to command me to go down into Kent again, and ordered a party of Horse to assist me.

But before the party of Horse were ready, I received an Information of Ten Thousand Stones of Wooll, Shipt in five Vessels from Gallaway in Ireland, and coulorably entred for Plymouth and London, &c.

I better knowing, than being able to prevent the usual Frauds practised in Ireland, where under pretence of getting a Licence from the Lord Lieutenant, to Ship Wooll for England, sometimes double the quantity Licenced was Shipt, and the Law requiring Bonds with sureties, to be given for landing the Wooll Licenced at some Port in England, some times insufficient Security was taken, and so the Bonds were of no effect, sometimes false and counterfeit Certificates were procured out of England, in discharge of those Bonds, that the Wooll was landed in England, when in truth it was not, sometimes those Bonds tho' actually forfeited and detected, yet were easily compounded for at low and cheap Rates, and at other times by the corruption of Officers, several Bonds were compounded for, as soon as they were entred into, even before the departure of the Vessel out of the Port, whereby Offenders were encouraged to break the Laws, by knowing and paying the price of their Punishment before they committed the Offence; which mischeifs being willing to obviate so far as I was able, upon diligent enquiring, I had good reason to suspect, the said Ten Thousand Stone of Wooll was really designed to be Exported beyond the Sea, and not intended either for Plymouth or London, as was pretended by the Entries.

And thereupon I applyed my self to the then Farmers of his Majesties Customs, for an order to ride down into the Southern Ports, to examine what Wooll was lately come thither from Ireland, to prevent Frauds by counterfeit Certificates, which I obtained. Being arrived at Exeter with their Order, I understood, that one Blake an Irish Man had been lately there, tampering with some of the Custom Officers, to get the Form of their usual Seal, and the Names of the said Officers; upon which I immediately wrote to my Correspondent in Ireland, who upon my Information found out the said Blake at Galloway, and discovered that he was concerned in all, or most of the said five Vessels, and that he had gotten counterfeit Certificates, Importing as if the said Wooll had been really landed in England, when it was not, and by that Means was designing to get up or discharge the said Bonds, but I prevented the doing thereof by examining the Matter, and finding that some of those Vessels unloaded their Wooll at Flusben in Zeland, some at Amsterdam, and one at St. Maos in France; of the Truth of which I procured Oaths and Attestations, some of which are now in my Custody, whereby those false Certificates were detected, and the discharge of those Bonds prevented.

Afterwards returning to London, and dispatching into Kent, according to His Majesties Command, the Party of Horse being then gone before to Canterbury, for my Assistance in Rumney-Marsh, we had Notice of a parcel of Wooll, secured in a House called Brokman's Barn, which securing and the Person in whose Custody it was, a great Discovery by him (of other Exporters) was made and prosecuted, as more fully may appear hereafter.

Note, That William Eacon before mentioned, who had been before the House of Commons, Anno Dom. 1668, was brought up to the King and Council, in Anno Dom. 1669, and before he could have his Tryal, was privately Compounded with by his Accusers the second time, tho' the King had expressly ordered his Tryal.

In September 1669, the Late King going to meet His Sister the Princess *Henrieta Maria*, at Dover, (during His abode there) going out one day to Sea, and observing a Vessel belonging to Captain *John Strell*, Sergeant to the Admiralty, to out Sail any of his own Pleasure Boats; Such was the Zeal His Majesty had against the Exportation of Wooll, and his Care to prevent it, that He was pleased to hire Her on purpose for that Service, Commanding the Assistance of my Advice to the Captain, in Cruising about the Coast of Kent, to prevent the said Exportation, which was so successful, with some other Vessels for some time, that together with the Discovery before mentioned, both as to Ireland and Kent, a great stop was then put to the said Exportation; which is confirmed in a Letter, afterwards wrote from Lile, the 5th. of March 1671, viz.

Sir.

I Received Yours of the 17th. & 27th. of February, under covert, &c. about the wooll Affair; I have much Reason to believe, unless some are made Examples, there will be continual Abuse; the Comodity both English and Irish, Raw and Combed, abound so much in these Countries, that for that which would yeild, not long since 8 Stivers and a half per. Pound, will yeild now but 6 and a half; yet they would be content to give 15 rather than want it, for they cannot make abundance of Fabrik, or Wollen Manufacture, without English or Irish Wooll.

There is a City not 3 Leagues from this, called Tournay, a Place renowned for the making of all sorts of Stockings of Wooll; it's not above 20 Years since, that they betook themselves to make the worsted Hose; A Trade, which in my Minority, was considerable from London, into these Countries, and now you may have a Parcel of English worsted Hose 20 Years by you, &c.

It's not above three Year ago, that there was a scarcity of Combed wooll, in this Quarter of the Country, and several of those Stocking Merchants, came hither to buy some; I told them, that such severity was used in England, that People were mad if they Adventure.

The

The next Session of Parliament 1670, the House of Commons being under the Consideration of raising of Money for His Majesty; it was propounded, that Wooll might be Transported from Ireland, paying 2d. or 3d. Per. pound Custom, and 3 reasons was offered, the answer to which; I shall now wave tell I come the to proceeding in Parlemt in a distinct discourse.

The Parliament then adjourning in the year 1671, I settled a Correspondancy in Ireland and Flanders, in order to know, whether the quantities of Wooll exported from one was caried to the other, and directed Captain Steel, the Owner and Master of the Vessel beforementioned, to steer his course accordingly, but after this Correspondancy was settled I was taken ill of a Feavor in June 1671 which held me 4 monthes, and a little time after the said Vessel was called in, and so the Exporters for some time had liberty to carry out their Wooll without controul.

In August 1671 one Edward Nichols, being committed to Newgate dureing my sickness for Transporting Wooll, and no per on being willing to prosecute him, was like to be discharged upon which I as soon as I was recovered did Immediately address my self to his Majestie in Council, for the further continuance of the said Nichols in Prison, till he should be discharged by Law, and an Order was forthwith granted accordingly. But there arose a Question before the King and Council, in what Court he should be tryed, whether by the Admiralty, or by common Law, (the Vessel being taken with the Wooll in the River of Thames near Graves-end) and it was refer'd to all the Judges to meet and consider the matter, and afterwards to Report their Opinion to the King, upon which Report, it was debated before the King in the presence of the said Judges, and the then Judge of the Admiralty, whither the said Nichols should be tryed by Common Law or not, and after a long consultation in the Council, it was Ordered as followeth, (*viz.*)

White Hall the 13th. of December 1671: It is this day Ordered by his Majestie in Council, that the Recorder of the City of London do, and is hereby required, by the best wayes he can, speedily to find out in what County that part of the River of Thames lyeth, wherein the said Edward Nichols was apprehended, for Transporting of Wooll contrary to Law, and that he Report the same to the Lord Chief Justice of his Majesties Court of Kings Bench; to the end his Lordship may give order for removal of the said Prisoner, to the Goal of the said County, where it shall appear he was taken, in order to his Tryal at the next Assizes, to be holden for that County.

But the burthen and care of observing this Order, lay chiefly on me: Tho' the Vessel was in truth taken with the Wooll on board on the Essex shore, and for that reason the Prisoner removed to Chelmsford Goal, and thence brought to Tryal at Chelmsford Assizes, yet upon examining the Witnesses on the Tryal it did appear, that the Prisoner was not secured when the Vessel was Seized, tho' then on Board, but got away out of the Vessel, and two daies after were taken on Shore at Graves-end, upon which the Tryal was Ordered to be at the then next May Stone Assizes, held for the County of Kent, which was the 12th. of March 1671, Whereupon my prosecution, the said Nichols was tryed and Convicted of Felony, as afterward will more fully appear: About which time I did also discover the owner of the Wooll for which Nichols was Convict, and caused him to be taken into Custody, and unto Tryal also; but notwithstanding, his money purchased such Intrest, that he did Compound and was discharged, without my knowledg, and against my will: About which time, and before the Tryal of the said Nichols, I petitioned his late Majesty for some supply to carry on the Affayre; which being refered to the then Lord Chief Barron, his Lordship Reported as followeth, (*viz.*)

May

May it please Your Most Excellent Majesty.

In Obedience to your Majesties second Order of Reference bearing, date the 20th. of December last, herunto annexed; I have considered of the Matter thereby to me Referred, and have discoursed with the Petitioner about his Charges and Expence, in prosecuting the Transporters of Wooll; the which he hath reduced to some certainty, and put it into writing, and hath also made Affidavit of the Truth thereof; the which is likewise herunto annexed, whereby it appears that during these 4 Years last past, wherein he hath brought into your Majesties Exchequer about 800l. more than in former Years had been received, he hath Expended near as much, but there be many more Informations still depending, if proved may bring in a grater Summ; But without some supply at present from your Majesty he will not be able to proceed with them; if therefore your Majesty be pleased to give your Petitioner 300l. it will encourage and Inable him to prosecute the Informations depending. And if he shall Convict the Offenders, he will be capable of your Majesties further Grace and Favour, all which I most humbly submit unto your Majesties Judgment.

January 3d. 1671.

Ed. Turnor.

In which Report it doth appear that I had then Expended 800l. and ordered 300l. in part until other Prosecutions brought in more Money, in a further pursuance of the said Offenders, I expended about 150l. more, and the very Fees, Attendancys, and Gratuities to recieve the 300l. cost me 50l. so that I had then but 100l. towards my 800l. And tho' I had prosecuted several Offenders (viz.) Indicted some at the Assizes and exhibited divers Informations in the Exchequer against others, yet notwithstanding, partly by Compositions of the Officers, and partly by an Act of Parliament for a general pardon, I was then frustrated of my design, and prevented recieving the Ballance of my Accounts, besides which being then complained against by some, for using a Millitary Power, (viz.) a party of Horse in that Affayre, though onely for the preservation of my own and others Lives, in execution of the known Laws; I was forced to decline that service at that time in Kent, the effect of all which was, that great quantities of Wooll was then exported, as well from Ireland as from Kent, which is confirmed by the following Leter, part of which I have before incerted to prove the effect of my first attempt, the remainder follows, (viz.)

Both English and Irish Wooll, Raw and Kemberd abound much in these Countreys, and for the Kemberd Wooll, most of which comes from Dover and Canterbury Transporters Calles, Deep, St. Vallerys, Abbeville, Amens, Dunkirk, Ostend, Bridges, Zealand, Rotterdam, and Ghent, all over these Provinces, every place is choaked with it; so that you may easily see how insensibly the Dover and Canterbury Transporters, draw the Kingdoms Hearts Blood from them; I could ad much more of the great benefit our Neighbours receive by it, which proves to an absolute Ruine; But I guess you can as easily comprehend my Meaning, as if I had further enlarged.

In a word France rejects our Fabricks at this day, presuming that they shall never want our Wooll to make their own fantastick Fabricks, which are so variable, as puts a great stop to the Currant demand, that used to be of our more solid Fabricks, for they will pretend to give the Mode to all the World; and

and so by this means, in time, all the world will be disgusted with our Fabricks, when by consequence, they shall receive the Mode from the French; consider of this I pray, that so there may be some speedy remedy.

Which Letter is confirmed by two other in these words, (*viz.*)

We have here a miserable Tarriff lately come forth, that Taxes Serges at 25, Cloth at 40, Cottens, &c. at 10 Florens per 100 weight, the misery is the great quantity of Wooll that is stolen from England to France.

So repeating the substance of the former Letter only differing expressions, and more large, concluding in the last thus, (*viz.*)

The French are now got into a way of making a low price sort of Cloth, called Scarg de Berry, which comes as cheap as Northern Cloth, its about 5 quarters broad; they have so much, in which they have clothed a great number of their Souldiers, and all made of English and Irish Wooll.

After the Assizes were over, I went again into Kent, and abroad some time there, looking after the Exporters, on the Sea Coasts I found 2 Vessels near Hy: be appointed, and lying ready to carry away Wooll, one of which I had been informed had done little else for a long time, of which William Bayly before mentioned was Master, the other Vessel was new built by another person usually employed in that design, but nothing was attempted whilst I was in the Country: But having occasion to come to London, I gave notice of the Design to two several Officers, by me appointed to be vigilant, who Seized 12 Packs of the Wooll designed to be Transported in one of the said Vessels, being brought down to the Sea side, ready to be ship'd off, and secured in the House of one Nicholas Davis, and afterwards part of it was rescued by the Inhabitants, who rose in the night with Weapons, to the number of 20 Persons, and wounding the Officers, carry'd away 8 of the said 12 Packs; but afterwards the said Nicholas Davis was taken and secured, in order to his Tryal.

Thereupon the said Nicholas Davis, together with Thomas Knight and Thomas Stoner, all three Inhabitants of Runny-Marsh, were by me prosecuted at Maidstone Summer Assizes 1671 for Transporting Wooll, where they were also Tryed and Convicted thereof; and the same Assizes, together with the said Edward Nichols, formerly convicted, were burnt in the Hand, as may appear upon Record.

These are to Certifie, that at the General Goal delivery holden at Maidstone, in the County of Kent, the 12th. of March in the 24th. Year of His now Majesties Reign 1671. Edward Nichols Marriner was convicted of Felony for Transporting of Wooll; And that on the first Day of August in the 24th. Year aforesaid, Thomas Knight, Nicholas Davis, and Thomas Stoner, were convicted of Felony for the like Offence.

These are further to Certifie, that Mr. Carter Gent. did on His Majesties behalf attend the respective Tryals of the said Nichols, Knight, Davis, and Stoner, for the respective Felonies aforesaid, and did then manage the respective Evidences against them, and thereupon cause them to be prosecuted and convicted for the said Felonies as aforesaid; given under my Hand, the 22th. of April 1676, and in the 28th. Year of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second, &c.

Tho. Lee
Clark of the Assizes.

These Proceedings being carried on in the Intervale of Parliaments, at the next Session I procured and solicited a Bill to pass, so far as to be read twice, refered and engrossed in the House of Commons, being the Substance of that Bill before mentioned, brought in by the

Lord

Lord Keeper *Bridgman*, but by the Means of one *Mr. Francis Monk*, it was obstructed, on purpose to usher in another Bill of his projecting, pretendedly to obstruct, but intendedly to encourage the Exporting Wooll, as by a Draught of the said Bill it self is ready to be made appear.

In the Year 167^o, the said *Mr. Monk* Solicites another Bill in the House of Commons, pretending thereby to make the Laws more practicable; but intending to Repeal the strength of the Act in the 14th Year of his late Majesties reign, which Bill being Committed, and almost past the Committee (I being so much discouraged for want of Money, that I had little Interest in the Clarks) nevertheless watching his Motion, did get a worthy Member to move the Committee, to appoint some *Merchants* and *Factors* to attend them, and to the end, for that time adjoined, by which means I prevented his design that Day: And in the mean time printing some Reasons against the Exportation of Wooll, for the Information of the Committee, before their next Meeting; whereupon his Bill was rejected and laid aside.

After which time little was to be done in Parliament, for 3 or 4 Years, by reason of other things then Transacted.

But about the Year 1682, *Mr. Monk* Petitioned the late King in Council, to have a Commission Empowring divers Persons to put the Lawes in Execution against the Exportation of Wooll, some of which Persons came to my House in the Country, upon the Pretence that some Gentlemen at *White Hall*, being willing to undertake the business, and hearing that I had spent some time in that Affaire, desired my Assistance, and to give them a Meeting, which accordingly I did, and had several Meetings with the Gentlemen, till I was informed by some of them that *Mr. Monk* was concerned: Upon which notice I told the Gentlemen, that the Project laid by *Mr. Monk* would not do, and advised them to spare their Money, and so parted: But notwithstanding my Caution, they did proceed upon the said Petition before mentioned, untill their whole Designe was laid aside, as you will find by the following References, and Reports thereon, (viz.)

By an Order of Council dated the 21st March 1682, and the Reports from the Lords Committee of Trade, &c. made to his late Majestie upon the Petition of *Francis Monk* and others, praying a Commission to put in Execution the Laws Prohibiting the Transportation of Wooll, &c. Informing his said Majestie that there were very great abuses in unlawful Exportations of that kind, which were of pernicious consequence, and that the fitness of the Commissioners to be employed in that Affaire, and the cautions to be used therein, were referred to the late Lords of the Treasury to consider of, for the better putting of the Laws in Execution.

The matter of the said Order of Council, with other Papers and Proposals, made by the Petitioners, were referred by their Lordships, to the Commissioners of his said Majesties Customes; who by their Report dated the 8th of June 1683 do approve that some Persons be appointed for that Service, under such Authority as should seem meet: And that the Persons to be intrusted ought to be of known Honesty.

Also the whole Matter aforesaid was referred to *Mr. Attorney General*, who made his Report concurring with the Commissioners of the Customes; and he further adds, that Security should be given, that upon Seizures no Compositions should be made without Licence.

After which, the whole matter and Reports being referred to the Company of *Merchant Adventurers of England*, they Reported that all Persons, that shall faithfully endeavour to hinder the Exportation of Wooll, &c. as aforesaid (without connivance to the Offenders, or sinister regard to themselves) ought to be encouraged; for as much as the Exportation is become a National Mischief, and threatens the utter Ruine of the Woollen Trade, if not timely prevented; that several Necessitous Persons, having been formerly Commissionated, studying their own Profit, instead of hindering the said Exportation, have rather Assisted and Promoted, than Prevented the same.

Which Reports being Read by their Lordships, and the Answer of *Mr. Monk*, were sent the 11th of March 1683 to the said Company for their further Consideration; who in April 1684 sent for me to attend them about the whole matter; who after several meetings with a Committee of the said *Merchants Adventurers, Levant and East-land Companys*, I attended the

Sea Coast with 2 Men, one on Board Captain *Brown*, and another on the Shere, by which great quantitys of Wooll were Seized and Condem'd, and much more prevented from being Exported that summer, than was Seized or Condemned.

The said *Monck* and others Exhibiting again further Proposals for the carrying on that Service, on the 4th. of April 1684, the same were transmitted to the Commissioners of the Customes, who the 25th. of the same Month, Reported that they did look upon those men not fit to be Employed in so great a Trust, notwithstanding they produced the Certificates of several Clothiers, &c. Purporting their desire that the said persons might be employed in that Service, which Clothiers &c. So Certifying they found to be generally mean Persons, not to be credited in a thing of that Nature and Consequence: and requiring the said undertakers to produce Certificates from known Merchants, *Blackwell-Hall* Factors &c. they declined to do the same.

The said Company of Merchants-Adventurers of *England*, made their Report on the Papers sent the Commissioners the 10th. of March 1683 wholly against the undertakers, for that they designed their own private profit, more than the effectual carrying on the intended Work; and the said Company were well assured that if the undertakers could have no gain at all, Honestly, they would of necessity miss the main design of their undertaking.

Upon all these Transactions there was a Petition drawn up by me, and exhibited to the said Lords of the Treasury by several Clothiers and Factors of the Woollen Manufacture within the Countys of *Worcester*, *Glocester*, *Somerset* and *Wiltz*; and taking notice that the undertakers were designing to obtain such a Commission as aforesaid, upon supposition that they were thereunto encouraged by many Thousands of the Woollen Manufacturers, the Petitioners disown any such Power, and do therein Pray that the proposals, being matter of weight, may be recommended to the *Hamburgh*, *Turkey* and other Companys, whom the Petitioners were assured would propose such methods for effecting the said Prohibitions, as may be most effectual and successful.

Upon which Petition the said late Lords of the Treasury caused Letters to be written to the said Companys, taking notice in the said Letters what proceedings had been made therein, and also sending Coppys thereof; did in the said Letters desire the said Companies or some of their members to meet together to peruse the said Papers, and consider of such Rules and Methods as they should judge proper and sufficient for the effectual restraint of the Exportation of the said Commodity; and in the said Letters desired the said Companys to send their Resolution thereon in writing; as also whether they or any of their Members would be willing to engage in the Care of seeing the Laws for Prohibiting the Exportation of Wooll observed.

A Committee of each company mett, and the Letters and Papers being Read (and my Proposals for a Method) all concluded it necessary to find out som fund proportional to the Charge when adjusted; at which time by one of the Committee it was declared the Clothiers were ready for their part to contribute 1600*P. Per. Annum*. And it was then propounded that the same should be farther communicated to other Merchants trading for *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, &c. for to procure likewise their assistance, And it was also agreed by the said Committees at their next meeting to come prepared with resolutions how much each Company would raise.

At which meeting the necessary Charge was brought in to amount to about 4000*P. Per. Annum*; after which time the Factors of *Blackwell-Hall*, in behalf of the Clothiers entred into a Voluntary Subscription of 2*d. Per. Cloth*, 1*d. Per. Serge*, and so *Pro Rato*, to rayse their 1600*P.* beforementioned, for 3 Years.

The Merchant Adventurers of *England*, agreeing to contribute 300*P. Per. Annum* for the like time, and other Companys, by their Deputys agreeing likewise to contribute in proportion to their Trade in the Woollen Manufacture.

These Subscriptions being entered into, the Difficulty lay how to Collect it; the Parliament then suddenly meeting, a Bill was drawn up by me, corrected by Council, and approved of by the then Lord Treasurer, which Bill, had not the Parliament been Prorouged, and I straitned for want of Money, would probably have passed into a Law, there being nothing on my part wanting in Solicitation.

That saying I Petitioned his Majestie for two Sloops to be employed for the preventing Exportation of Wooll; and tho' there was some Opposition to it, yet his Majestie was Graciously pleased to give Order to Sett out the said Sloops in that service, and the Care for their direction being committed to me, I did accordingly undertake it: and whilst the Vessels were preparing at *Dover* I sent over a Man to *Calice* to make some discovery, which he effectually did, and as soon as one of the Vessels were ready, I went to Sea in her, and sent for my Man to come from *Calice*, fearing he might be discovered, and had he not hastened at the receipt of my Letter, in all probability he might have been Killed; for another Person was set upon in *Calice* as supposing him to be my Man, and was like to have been Murdered, had not his Landlord rectified the *French-Mens* mistake: Meeting my Man at Sea in the Packet-boat, we took him on Board, and by his discovery we took several *French* Shallops before we came into *Dover*, and tho' great Opposition was made in the Exchequer by many Claymes and other vexatious motions there, to discourage me; yet I prosecuted, and condemned three in Michalmas Term 1685, and caused more to be Seized at that time, which afterward were prosecuted to Condemnation; and in the middle of *December* I took a Journey into the North, leaving my Man at *Dover*, to observe my directions whilst absent. The Exporters contriving how to hinder my design, had got a *Quo minus* out of the Exchequer against him for 500*l.* in the name of *John Noble*, a Person that he never saw or heard of before, and kept it in their hands above a Month, that they might surely fix him in Prison, because the Vessels were discovered by him (I having sent him privately to *Calice* for that purpose) and also the Information Exhibited in his name, tho' the Forfeiture of forreign Vessels are wholly the Kings. And before they executed their *Quo minus*, some of them made Affidavit and sent it up to *London*, and moved the Court of Exchequer the first day of the next Term (*viz*) 22th of *January* 1685 for an attachment against him, under pretence of a Contempt of an Order of Court, for not delivering of a Vessel Seised and not Condem'd; and an Attachment was awarded against him, unless he shewed Cause to the contrary in five or six dayes; and that he might not be capable of shewing Cause, the said Exporters, as soon as they heard of an order of Court, Arrested him and carried him a Prisoner to *Dover-Castle*, upon the 500*l.* Action; but Mr. *Bréton* the Collector of *Dover*, believing it to be a sham Action, designed to Bayle him, till *William Eaton* (one of the contrivers) sent him a Letter to dissuade him, assuring him it would be proved a Real Debt; so he was forced to ly in Prison.

About this time coming home I was informed of the Order of the Court of Exchequer, and the next day, I did appear my self in the said Court, and owned the proceedings of my Man, as done by my Order, and therefore would be lyable to the Judgment of the Court for what he had done, and sent for him up to answer, not knowing him then to be a Prisoner in *Dover-Castle*: but being informed of that, I moved the Court upon an Affidavit, and got a friend with me, and we become Bayle in Court, and removed him by *Hebeas Corpus*: so all that business fell to the ground; till afterwards having gott him a Prisoner att *Bulloine* in *France*, they proceeded against him on a feigned Action in the Crown Office, and would have brought it to Tryal att *Maidstone* Assizes, but I stopt it at Mr. Attorney-Generals.

After which time, upon the encouragement of the Contribution before mentioned, there were fitted out two of the best of those *French* Vessels which I had gott condemned; and together with the assistance of those two Sloops his Majestie (upon my petition) had Set out, there has been about 20 Vessels seized and condemned, and divers parcels of Wooll, besides great quantites cast over board by the Exporters, that they and their Vessels might make their escape.

But in the midst of these Transactions the late Lord Treasurer hearing little from the Merchants, after his Majestie had sett out the two Sloops before mentioned, his Lordship by his Letter dated the 15th of *March* 1685, to the Company of Merchant Adventurers of *England*, prest the said Company, to consider what his Majestie had done, in setting out two Sloops as an encouragement for them to proceed; and of what evil Consequence Delays were in that concern: To which the said Company, by their Letters of the 25th of the same Month, informed

formed his Lordship what progress they had made in that matter; and that for their share they had resolved to contribute 300*l.* *Per Annum* for 3 Years; as the Factors had for their Clothiers, by their Subscriptions of 2*d.* *Per Cloth* (and for the better carrying on the said Work, had ordered two Sloops that had been taken and condemned by me, to be fitted out for that Service) though other Merchants had not come to any Resolution in that matter, how much they would contribute. Upon the Receipt of this Letter his Lordship directed Letters dated the 30*th*, of the same month to the other Companys, to inform them what progress the said Company of Marchants Adventurers had made, &c. Whereupon the said Companys (or most of them) gave answer to his Lordship of their readiness to assist proportionable to their Trade, for so good a Work; Copies of which Letters were sent to the Merchants Adventurers, by Mr. Guy, the 10*th*. of April following (*viz.*) 1686.

And having, as before mentioned, caused not only so many Vessels and great quantities of Wooll to be condemned at my own Charge, tho' in the Officers names, and intending to bring up the Wooll to London to be sold to Clothiers, (it being generally sold before by the Officers to the Exporters) some of the the Officers refused to agree thereto, because it would yeild more money at Dover: upon which in May 1686, I wrote to then Lord Treasurer the matter of Fact, and his Lordship by Mr. Guy ordered the Commissioners of the Customes to direct their Officers to permit me to take the Wooll as appraised (I paying the Charge) and bring it up to London, to be sold to the Clothiers. In pursuance thereof, after I had condemned the Wooll at my own charge, and paid the King's moiety into the Exchequer, and remitted money to Dover, and paid the Officers moiety, with all their charge there, I ordered it to be brought up: And having settled things at Dover, as I thought well, and exhibited several Informations in the Exchequer on the Forfeitures of 3*s.* *per* Pound, and prepared to Prosecute others on the Statute of the 14*th.* of Charles the second, By this means so great a stop was put to the said Exportation by these Prosecutions, that Wooll did rise in France above 30. *per. Cent.* in 6 months time, (*viz.*) between January 1685, and July 1686: After which I took a Journey into the North on the Borders of Scotland, in order to prevent the mischiefs in those parts; but whilst there, was informed, that some of the Officers of the Customes in confederacy with the Exporters, did endeavour to obstruct my Proceedings, which they had been a long time contriving.

And whilst I was in the North, was informed that the Wooll I had condemned for the Officers in their own Names, and paid all the Charges, and running the risk of bringing it up to London, as before mentioned, was by one of the Officers sold by some under hand means, and he received part of the money for it, which I had fully paid him for before, and so went out of Town, which occasioned a great Controversy betwixt my Friends here, (that had supplied me with money, and to whom the Wooll should have been delivered) and some others: This coming to the Ears of the Exporters at Canterbury and Dover in few hours, for their encouragement (as well as it came to me in the North for my discouragement) their Plot took effect, and so from that time, (*viz.*) August and September 1686, the Exporters revived their old Trade, that in a little time twenty thousand Packs were exported: The forementioned Officer was Commander of one of the Sloops that I had prevayled by Petition to his Majestie to fit out, and would have been put out of his place through his folly long since, and the Sloop laid aside; had not I through the importunity of his Friends born with him, and kept him in; by which means the advantage he hath received thereby, cannot be less than 600*l.* in 2 Year and halfe time; but having for some time left him to his own conduct, he is through his Folly and Knavery dismissed from his employ.

At my return from the North, the first thing to be done was to get my man out of Prison, but in little or no Capacity to hinder the said Exportation from Kent, the 2 Vessels before mentioned that were put out, being laid up, having neither Power to Seize Wooll, nor Collect money to prosecute the Offenders.

After which time I Petitioned the then Lord Treasurer to Impower the said Companies, Factors and Clothiers, &c. that had entered into a voluntary Contribution, that they might be in a condition to carry on so good a Work, the Petition being referred to the Commis-

ners of the Customes nothing was done; this attempt sayling I Petitioned his Majestie in Council, some time after to the same effect, annexing a Copy of the Commission to Christs Hospital before mentioned, which being referred to the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury about February 1686, their Lordships referred the whole to the Commissioners, as before the late Lord Treasurer had done, and there it rested.

Nevertheless, tho' I could not do what I would, yet I neglected no opportunity I was capable of; for hearing that there was a design privately to procure a Licence to Export 6000 Baggs of Wooll from Ireland; which might contain 20000 Packs: the Names of the Persons being given to me, I went immediatly to Mr. Attorney Generals, Treasury, Secretary of State and Signet Offices, and entered *caveats* at each Office; and a Friend of mine wrote a Letter to a Worthy Merchant and Gentleman in the Country, who did immediatly, with some other Gentlemen write to a great Minister of State; who was pleased to answer as followeth, (*viz.*)

Gentlemen,

Tours of the fourth Instant was conveyed to me last night, while I attended his Majestie at Councel, which I immediatly communicated: Both His Majestie and we that had the honour to attend him were all surprized, that the Malicious False Reports that you seem to Insinnate, had obtained credit in your Neighbourhood, of His Majesties Intentions, to give Licence for the Transportation of Irish Wooll to parts beyond the Seas: It hath been so farre from His Majesties Intentions, that He has long ago given strict Orders, both to His Admiralty, and in His several Ports to use their utmost endeavours for the strict Prosecution of all Offenders in that kind, and hath further given directions to the Officers of the Customes, to give their utmost assistance in the Affair: But for your satisfaction the King Com-manded me to let you know His Royal Pleasure therein, and that He expects You to take Care that His Royal Intentions may be made Publick.

I have also in Command that the Justices of Assizes, do take especial Care to satisfy the Country in this particular; so Gentlemen having no more at present to trouble you, I crave leave to Subscribe my self, &c.

London 14th. Feb. 1686.

After which time, some of the Officers in further pursuance of their design, to baffle me in my proceedings for future, upon the alteration of some persons in Office so represented me; that I was rendered thereby wholly incapable of any thing, and by some greatly reflected on, 'till I had prevailed by the means of some eminent Merchants, to have a hearing before the Lords Commissioners of His Majesties Treasury: At which hearing it was judged reasonable, I should be re-imburst my Charge in that Service, and ordered to bring my Accounts, and Certificates from Sr. Rob. Howard, what money was brought into the Exchequer by my Prosecutions, which being done, and their Lordships referring the whole matter to the Commissioners of Customes, in May 1687, upon receipt of which, the Commissioners were pleased to direct Letters to the Officers, (in whose Names I had prosecuted and paid in the money, as before mentioned) to know whether they did own what I had done, and some of them, (even these very men, that I had directed how to Seize, and undertook to runn the risk, as before mentioned, for their Advantage) were not only so base as to deny what I had done for

for them, but also guilty of Forgery; so at that time I was rendered by some very Obnoxious, and at the same time perplexed in the Court of Exchequer by the Exporters; and was forced to pay great Summs in my own defence, and particularly for one Witness being his Bayle it cost me near 50l.; notwithstanding all which, I at last recovered my self in my Reputation, and gave Answer to those Officers Letters, and sent it to the Commissioners as followeth. (*viz.*)

Whereas it hath been objected that I pretend the Prosecution of Wooll and Vessels, when is hath been done by the Officers, and Letters are produced, which would seem to make good the pretence; to instance one for all, (*viz.*) Captain Knight's to the Commissioners.

May it please Your Honours,

The Wooll I have taken and seized was by my own Endeavours and Industry, Condemned by a due Course of Law, and the King's Moiety paid with my own Money: Now I humbly pray your Honours that if his Majestie please to grant the Bounty, I may receive it for my Encouragement,

*Your Honours most Obedient
and Humble Servant*

Dover the 9th.
of June 1687.

Peter Knight.

In answer thereunto, I shall annex the Affidavit of two of his own men, that prove, that Captain Knight was not at Dover, at the time of the date of the pretended Letter; but at Sea six Dayes before and four after, and by an Affidavit of his Sonns, that the matter in the Letter is False, by which others may be judged; besides the matter of John Knight's Affidavit, I did, in a late parcel of Wooll, Seized by the said Captain Knight, Condemn and pay the Charge, and the King's full Moiety as it was appraised; yet when I Sold it, I was forced to abate 3l. *per*. Pack of the Appraisement, and stood to the loss, singly, that I might not hinder the bringing up the Wooll, tho' it yeilded more Money at Dover than here, being done before the Proclamation came forth: The Truth of this Answer will appear in the following Affidavits, (*viz.*)

Robert Kedman and William Ayres maketh Oath, that these Deponents being employed under Captain Peter Knight, Commander of a Sloop to prevent the Exportation of Wooll, and having been at Sea with the said Captain Knight as Mariners, in His Majesties Service about ten Days, came not on Shore from Sea, till Sunday last: by which reason they could not Appear according to the contents of a Subpena issued out of this Honourable Court, requiring them to be at Westminster on Munday last at one of the Clock, to give their Testimony for the King against Henry Culmer. And they could not possibly come to London before Teusday morning last, and are come on purpose to give their evidence at the said Tryal, which they apprehend to be on Thursday, if they could not come

time

time enough on Munday, and they are able to prove, that the said Henry Culmer hath Exported divers quantities of Wooll, having taken him in the Fact of Exporting the same.

Jur. Decimo sept. Die
Aprilis 1687. Coram me,
E. Atkins.

Robert Kedman.
W. A. the mark of
William Aires.

John Knight maketh Oath that being employed as Mate under his Father Peter Knight in the Service of the Customes, for about sixteen Years past, he hath observed that after the Seizures of Wooll by the Custome-House Officers, the Owners of the Wooll, or some Agent for them generally bought the Wooll of the Officers, which afterwards was Commonly exported, and this he hath the greater reason to believe, for that several times, when this Deponent hath been present at the Seizing of Wooll, after the same hath been condemned, he hath taken the very same parcels again at Sea, as it hath been Exporting the second time.

And that several Officers, after they have Seized Wooll, have delivered it to the Owners, without any Proceedings therein.

And this Deponent further saith, that when his Father formerly made Seizures of Wooll, he agreed with the Superior Officers of the Customes, to give them part of the benefit of his Seizures, besides the full Charge of the Prosecution to Condemnation; by which the said Officers generally had an equal Profit of the said Seizures, with the said Peter Knight; but since Mr. Carter hath looked after the Exporters, the said Carter hath paid the said Peter Knight all his Charges, in Taking, Appraising and Condemning the Vessels and Wooll, and the full Moiety thereof clear of all Charges, and besides when the Wooll Condemned was Sold for more than the Appraisement, the overplus was paid by the said Carter to his Father Peter Knight.

Jur. Decimo Tertia die
April Anno Dom. 1687.
Ed. Atkins.

John Knight.

And as to the Charge in General of my discouraging Diligent Officers.

In Answer to which, as the Affidavit of John Knight before mentioned, do in part prove the contrary: So I do Averr and shall make good, that in the Seizures of Wooll and Vessels, that I have undertook to Prosecute, I have bore all the Charge and run the risk, in Case the Wooll and Vessels were not Condemned, and have Prosecuted in the Officers Name, who have had the full benefit of the Moiety thereof, tho' I have been at the Seizing both of Wooll and Vessels my self.

And besides the Charges in Prosecuting and condemning the said Wooll and Vessels in the Exchequer, I have actually paid amongst the said Officers near 200l. for their Charges about Dover in their Seizing, Appraising, and other Incidents, several of which Seizures had not under-

undertook, the Officers would have let fall; by all which it doth appear, whether I have discouraged Officers, and gained my self, when I have within this four Years spent 1000*l.* in Travailing, and in the said Prosecutions, besides Servants Wages and my own time, and keeping of Horses, towards all which I have received between 2 and 300*l.*

After which time I Petitioned the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, laying before their Lordships my Case and Suffering in my Service, and what Damage His Majestie and the Kingdome sustained thereby; and had prepared for Tryal of a Transporter in Michaelmas Term, being not able to proceed and having borrowed diverse great Sums to carry on the Affayre so farr; which being referred to the Commissioners of the Customes, they ordered their Solicitor to disburst the Money, upon which I proceeded, and as before cast the Exporter; some time after I attended the Commissioners upon the former reference, who were pleased to make Report as followeth.

May it Please your Lordships

In obedience to your Lordships commands upon the annexed Petition, and other Papers of Mr. Carters, delivered to us by your Lordships in May last We have considered the said Petition and Papers; and do humbly Report to your Lordships that we have observed the Petitioner to have been a very Zealous prosecutor of the Transgressions, and transgressors mentioned in the Petition, and that upon his motion the King was pleased about two years since, at his own charge to set out two Vessels to prevent the Transportation of Wooll, which are continued in that Service to this day, that in his proceedings he hath met with great opposition and diffu'ry, and upon that consideration he has upon diverse occasion obtained favourable Reports from this Board; as a Person fit to be countenanced and encouraged in his proceedings: yet we never intended that his charge was to be born by the King, supposing his recompence to be out of his share of such penalties and Forfeitures, as he should himself Prosecute and recover, or should be otherwise contributed to him, by the Merchants and Clothiers, who he alledged to be willing to undergoe the Charge, and by the Account hereunto annexed we find that he has run himself into very great Expence, and we are informed that not having met with the Encouragement he Presumed upon from the Merchants and others, he has much lessened his own private fortune thereby. Upon the whole Matter we are humbly of opinion that he has with great Heartiness and Zeal, Prosecuted the Offenders and Vessels, that have been Guilty in Transporting Wooll, and that he hath dealt therein with all Honesty and Integrity, and we are humbly of Opinion that the said Account herenunto annexed, is a true Account, he having offered to make Oath of the Truth thereof, and we do Humbly recommend the same to your Lordships Favourable consideration, but we cannot advise the disposing of his Majesties part of the Forfeiture, otherwise than they are already disposed by Proclamation.

Custom-House February
the 18th. 1687.

N. B. D. N.
J. W. W. C.

In

In which Report you may perceive my Actions and Integrity, and that I have not received the Money I have expended, much less any thing for my Time, Hazard and Labour, nor for my Servants, or keeping of Horses these four Years, besides former Disbursements, part of which was before mentioned in the late Lord Chief Baron's Report; more you may perceive by these following Lines, what I Wrote to the Merchants and Clothiers, and Printed it, as an Advertisement to them, in the Year 1672. (*viz.*)

A Brief Advertisement to the Merchants and Cloathiers, &c.

G E N T L E M E N,

I Had an Intention, the beginning of the last Summer, (before a long and chargeable Fit of Sickness besel me for near three Months,) to inform you in what state that Affair about Exportation of Wooll, then stood; in which the Life and Death of your Trade, and the subsistence of many Thousands of Families, that depend on that *Manufacture* consists.

Give me leave, (by some of the many instances I could give,) to demonstrate, that, my Labour, in this affair, hath not been fruitless altogether.

I have now been four years engaged in this Service: and how I have been forced, as well upon Travels, as Watching both by Sea and on shore, I presume is well known to many of you.

And what expence I have been at, in that time, both for servants and horses, and in my attendance at Court, and on the Parliament, gratuities to Sea-men, and parties of horse, and for the holding, and maintaining correspondencies in *Ireland, Flanders, &c.* you cannot but in some measure be able to apprehend.

And that it must be the greater, in that I have not spent six daies, in twelve Moneths, at my own habitation, with my Friends: either to abate expences, or to look after any private business of my own.

What damage I have sustained, by losing my Trade in pursuance of this affair, is well known (at least) to some: for,

When first I undertook this Affair, I intended to spend only one Moneth, or thereabout in attending on the Parliament for a new Act; which held me near six Moneths; and at the Adjournment of the Parliament, I returned to my calling; it being kept on foot for me, during the time of my attendance.

But those that knew my Trade at that time, know right well what opportunities of advantage I lost.

Therefore it must be a great mistake in some, that think I took up this Affair, as though I had nothing else to doe.

For I was importuned by several Merchants and Others, soon after the Adjournment of the Parliament, to address my self unto his Majestie in Council, for a Party of Horse, to be in *Rumney Marsh* in *Kent*, where the greatest part of the Wooll is shipped from *England*; and some Frigats, for preventing the said mischief; which through his Majesties favour and encouragement, I did obtain.

Upon the promise of those Merchants, to reimburse my charge, I proceeded.

And had those Merchants and Others, perform'd their promise, as some few did, I had done much more than I have, (though I have left nothing undone, that I was capable to perform, or doe, considering how little assistance I had from others) and indeed, my endeavour in this business, have had so good success, as to prevent many Thousand Packs of Wooll from exportation, that the effect evidenced it self (at that time obvious to many Merchants from their correspondents beyond Sea,) in the rise of Wooll there and the fall here.

But should it now hereafter, for want of encouragment and attendane miscarry, how much it will wound *Englands* trade to the heart, I need not tell you, for, such is the gaine and encouragemend, for the transporting of this commodity, that if any imployed, or entrusted in this affair, will be bribed, they need not make complaint for want of Money, I do assure you: and if I for my integrity must fall, (and be forced to quit the service,) after all this four years labour and travail, It will be no encouragement to any other Peasen, to engage a-fresh therein.

Give me leave to adde, that it was no small grief to me, during my sickness, to here of the many hundred packs of Wooll that were exported, (both from *England* and *Ireland*,) more than had been at other times, which you will easily see in the ensuing Petition and Letter; and my trouble was so much the more for as much as the King had given Order, a little before, that a Vessel purposely hired, because of Her swiftness, should attend that affair, and though I had made provision (by correspondante) for intellegence to prevent that mischief, yet I had not Money to pay Servants, nor to encourage my corrispondents, nor that I could find any willing or able to pursue the said business, either because of the hazard or pains, or expensiveness thereof. The effect of which about *Michalmas* last, occasioned this following Petition.

To the Kings most excellent Majesty

The Humble Petition of several Merchants.

Sheweth,

That although many severe Laws, have been made against the Transportation of Wooll; nevertheless, many evil-disposed Persons, do frequently Ship-off great quantities thereof to the great decay of the Cloathing-Trade of this Kingdom, and to the undoing of many thousand Families, who lived comfortably thereupon: and being through an ill custom, sold in-forraign parts, as cheap as in many many places of this Kingdom; by means whereof, the Woollen Manufacture of this Nation, findes but small vend abroad, and dayly decreaseth in price; so that neither the Clothier, nor Merchant, have any encouragment, in making, or transporting the same; together with such great duties imposed by the *French* King, and Others; as in effect amounts to an absolute prohibition, (and that no purpose to encourage the Manufacture of their own Country.) Which if by some effectual means, be not speedily prevented, must in a short time, wholly destroy the great Manufacture, and Staple trade of this your Majesties Kingdom and consequently to the decreasfing of your Majesties Revenues, of the Custom; and that more particularly of late dayes, a greater quantity of Wooll, hath been transported then formerly, by reason, as is doubted, of the connivance of some Officers, and easily compounding with the transporters when discovered, which gives great encouragment to those Persons, to continue in this most destructive course

Your Petitioners most humbly pray, that your Majesty, would be pleased to issue out your Royal Proclamation, commanding all Officers and Others, to put the Laws in execution, that so all may take notice thereof: there being many poor people imployed in shipping off the wooll, who pretend ignorance, and know not the Penalty of the Law: and that no compounding be made with any, but the Laws may be severly put in execution, against all Persons that may be found guilty.

And tho' I have before upon this occasion incerted the substance of a Letter Dated, *Flanders* *March* the 5th. 1671. yet I cannot wave a repetition of this part of it.

Sir

I received yours of the 17th *February*, under Covert from *St.* about the Wooll-affair. I have much reason to believe, unless some are made Examples, there will be continual abuse; the Commodity, both *English* and *Irish*, Raw and Comb'd, abound so much in these Countries, as at present it's worth nothing. &c.

Now Sirs, how both these do answer, to what was said before, that unless this Business be continually attended, by some Person, that will be faithful; there will be an inevitable ruine of the Clothing Trade, may be easily perceived.

Give me leave further to inform you, what great Sense his Majesty himself hath also of this Affair; who hath been pleased to evidence it, both by his Care and Charge, in not only commanding His Troops, but several Frygots to attend upon every Occasion, beside his Hiring a Vessel; he also hath spent many dayes in Council about it; and in declaring his resolution, strictly to execute all the Laws against the Transportation of Wooll, and to further all rational Proposals, that can be further made; and did order (upon reading the fore-mentioned Petition of the Merchants) his Royal Proclamation, to be issued out about this Matter.

Now for a conclusion, Gentlemen: If this service be acceptable, and that it be carryed on, you cannot imagine, it can be done without supplies. For, you cannot expect the King should take the charge of it wholly upon himself; of which, the profit will mostly return to his Subjects. Nor that I should, if I were able, bear it my self, though indeed I have done it beyond what my condition could well permit me; and it's very plain, what hath been the consequence of my being discouraged, and taken (wholly off) but three Months from this Affair.

Sirs, I hope you will believe, and it's but Rational, so to do; if I have spent so much of my time, and strength, mostly upon my own charge, with those hazards I have been exposed to, these four years, in this Affair, with that little encouragement I have received: that if encouraged but with necessary supplies, so that I might not be taken off my pursuit, that I might do much more than I have; and the rather, because every thing is more easie than it was at first, having discovered so many Persons, and their wayes, and several in custody, in order to their Tryal, some Convicted: its Rational, at least to suppose the way fair, to put a stop, to this most destructive course.

Gentlemen, These instances are not of small import. To the whole Affairs, and that the agitations about them: call for no small attendance and travel; nor is it without its own charges, accompanying dispatches.

I have also given Declarations to two Persons, for transporting above three Hundred packs of Wooll, and had prepared Tryals with them; but was forced to forbear two or three Terms for want of Assistance to prosecute them; for such Potent Persons, are not easily run down: if they, and their Confederates know once with whome they have to doe, (if they will not be bribed) and that Money is wanting to prosecute, they can finde wayes by Friends, and Money, to make Suits delatory and chargeable; besides an other mischief, of taking off Witnesses: Of which you will see a Demonstration afterwards.

At *Easter* or *Trinity* Term 1669, one Mr. *John Morten* prosecutes *Mark Gabree* in the Exchequer, for transporting of Wooll. The said *Gabree* removes it into *Surry*, where Mr. *Morten* brings it to Tryal, *Midsummer* Assizes following, and subpena's one *Thomas Petley*, who had been *Gabrees* Wooll-Kember: *Morten* obtains a Verdict against the said *Gabree*; but so it was ordered, that whereas the forfeiture was three Shillings per pound, he had but twelve pence: and being but a small parcel, he lost by it.

At *Michaelmas* following, the Tryal aforesaid, *Gabree* arrests *Petley*, by a Writ of the Crown Office for Perjury, out of revenge; and to undo him, being but a poor man, and make him incapable of being Witness any more; and to deter others.

At *Midsummer* Assizes 1670, *Gabree* pretends to come to Tryal: but when he saw *Petley* appear, and had his Witnesses for his defence, he let it fall that Assize.

Since

Since *Michaelmas*, Seventy one, *Petley* is again arrested as aforesaid.

But I have now presented his *Cas* to his Majesty, else he would have been utterly ruin'd; and now the said *Gabree* is in Custody, being owner of the Wooll, taken at *Gravesend*, as aforesaid.

I shall conclude with a few particular Instances, that I observed in attending the Parliament, of which I only hinted some thing in page 5th.

To begin with a Motion made in the House of Commons 1670, when that House were under consideration of raising Money for His Late Majesty's supply, it being then taken for granted, that there were great quantities of Wooll clandestinely exported from *Ireland* to Foreign Parts, it was then propounded, that a Tax of 2d. or 3d. per l. might be laid upon such Wooll for three Reasons, then given, (*viz.*) First, it would make it so Dear to Forainers, that the *English* could under sell them in our Manufactory. Secondly, It would raise a great Revenue to his Majesty. Thirdly, It would be an inducement to the Officers, to be more careful to look after the Custome, and so less would go: This seemed to many Wise Grave Senators at first, to be very Feasible, until I gave Answer to it. And that was thus.

Ans. 1. As to 2. d. or 3. d. per pound dearer, signifies nothing: For if they Enter 10 Packs, there shall go off a 100 Packs Unentred. But grant it did all pay that Custome there in *Ireland*, it pays no Custome when it's Imported in *Holland*, *Flanders*, or *France*; and then to consider the Custome it paid here to his Majesty upon our Woollen Manufactory, when Exported, which is above five pound for a Pack of Worsted-stuffs, &c. and it's such Wooll that is coveted; and that as before the *French King* laying such an Impost upon our *English* Woollen Manufactories, of 20 or 30 per cent, this overballanceth by ten parts the first Reason, and besides about the Manufacturers working so much cheaper, which I humbly suppose, is a sufficient Answer to the first Reason of the Motion.

Ans. 2. As to his Majesties Revenue by 2 d. or 3 d. per pound, is answered in short; The Custome paid as above upon the Export of our Woollen Manufactories, is double that Custome; but the Custome upon the Importation of the Product thereof, may amount to three times the worth of the Pack of Wooll; from hence may be concluded, That his Majesties damage by the quantity that is asserted to be Transported, cannot be less than one Million of pounds Sterling; so that this also is Answered.

Ans. 3. As to the Officers inducement, I shall answer in short, by asking this single Question, (*viz.*) Which in reason can be the greatest Inducement, 3 d. per pound for Custome, or 3 s. per pound Forfeiture, of which three parts is given to the Prosecutor, who must be supposed to be more watchful to gain the Forfeiture, than the Custom for the King, if Shipt to be Transported, which is now in Force and Recoverable? But there was more in the bottom, For within a day or two of the said Motion, there was a Noble Lord did affirm in the Committee for Wooll, that his Lordship was offered a hundred thousand pound Sterling, to pass an Act for Transportation of Wooll; and besides, there is a Petition of many years standing, that within this few months I had a view of, for Combed Wooll to go off upon the same pretence as before; alledging it is course Wooll, and not for the Clothier. It's true, that it is not fit for Cloth, but it is for Worsted-stuffs, and Stockings, which is as prejudicial, if not more than Clothing Wooll.

By which that motion fell to the ground, but some time after the petition before mentioned, did appear bare Faced, of which I wrote in a Letter to the Merchants and Clothiers (*viz.*) in 1686 Comprehending what pass in Parliament from 75 till that time, (*viz.*) I began this.

Perceiving at length what I had for some time a suspicion of, that some Persons at the then next Sessions of Parliament, did not only appear to justify the Fact of Transportation of Wooll privately, but did appear publickly and in Print, to assert and avow the conveniency that it would be to this Nation; and therefore did desire, that an Act of Parliament might be made for a limited Exportation, giving also some pretended Reasons for the same.

In *March* 1676 a Bill was put into the Hand of an Eminent Member of the then House of Commons, to be brought into that House, with whome I had some Discourse, and did so far disswade him to delay, till the following Letter prevail'd on the *Factors*, and some *clothiers* then in Town, to assist me.

March the 22d. 1678

Sirs, Having been at Westminster this day, and spake with divers Members, I find the Arguments for the Exportation of Wooll, have so far prevailed with the Parliament-men, that a Bill is already put in Sr. T. M's. Hand to bring it into the House which may be done this very day (altho' I had some Discourse with him about it and did endeavour to diswade him from it)

The Consequence of which, seeing it must tend to the utter Ruine of the Cloathing Trade, and seeing I have done the utmost that can be expected on my part to prevent it, which is to draw up Reasons effectually to make out the Inconvenience of it, which I have also put into the Printer's hand.

I thought it my Duty therefore, further to acquaint you, that unless some further speedy Course be taken for a general meeting, to consider how, and in what manner this Mischief should be obviated. I conceived the Intrest of the Clothier would suddenly have grown desperate, seeing no private or single Mans appearing in this Case, who ever he be, can signify any thing to oppose it.

I am much convinced, that not only the Cloathing Trade, but the very Intrest of the Nation in general is at stake, and in hazzard to be utterly lost, if this Point should now be wholly neglected? This I have for some years foreseen, and have talked of, but it hath not been regarded, but you will find that I spake not slightly, but on good grounds. and what there is just Cause to suspect, will come to pass, if this Matter be not with Industry and Diligence prevented.

After I had prevailed with the Clothiers to give me some encouragement; I did then endeavour to use proper Arguments, and took a fit Season to present them, when the House of Commons was so earnest for the prohibiting French Commodities, laying before them, that the Wooll endeavoured to be limited for Transportation was principally intended for France, which proved so effectual for the Ends designed; which Arguments I refer you to for your further satisfaction.

After this was laid aside, the next Sessions of Parliament comes a Gentleman that hath been all along my Competitor (*viz.*) Mr. Munk as in p. 8 and brings in a Bill, and prevailed so far as to get it read and committed, upon which I drew up the following Petition, which was signed by several Merchants and Factors, *viz.*

Whereas there is a Bill depending, the Parliament whereof seems to be against Transportation of Wooll, the Scope and Consequence of it (as is humbly conceived) will tend rather to encourage it: For whereas it is suggested in the said Bill, that the Act made in the 14th. Year of His Majesties Reign, making Transporting of Wooll Felony, is ineffectual for the preventing thereof, and therefore prays the Repealing the Felony of that Act, without confirming the rest of that Act; as if making Transportation to be Felony did encourage Transporting; that Suggestion with all submission is conceived to be a great mistake: For though it must be granted (whatever Laws have been or shall be made in this case) that some Persons for their own Lucre (thoug' it be never so much to the Damage of the great Manufacture of this Kingdom, and notwithstanding all the Care imaginable) will adventure to Transport Wooll. Yet for some Years after the Act of the 14. Car. 2. was in force, there was a great stop put to the said Transportation, until wooll so increased in Ireland beyond its Consumption there and here, that great Quantities were actually Transported from thence; but till that Glut the Act of the 14th. Year of His Majesties Reign (by which the Forfeiture was Three Shillings for every pound of Wooll besides the Wooll forfeited) conjoynd with the Act in the 14th. Year of His Majesties Reign, was found effectual to prohibit Transporting Wooll, for

the Prosecutor having liberty to Prosecute upon what Act he please.

If the Act against Felony were repealed, there would be much more Wooll exported then hath been done ; for although few Persons that have any considerable Estate do now appear in the very Fact of the said Exportation, but most times poor men ; therefore in reason it cannot but be supposed if the Act which makes it Felony were repealed, none else but poor men would do it, and then to what purpose would that Act be of making the Forfeiture, Three Shillings *per*. pound ; to be sure no one would be at the Charge to prosecute. But then of the other hand, experience is of some use in this case : I remember that I prosecuted several Persons for Exporting of Wooll about the Year 1672, upon that Act of Felony, by the perticuler order of King *Charles* the second, and did Convict Fower of them, as in page the 7th. which put some stopp at that time to the said Exportation, so that both in reason and experience that Act ought to stand.

To all which I shall add what hath been done since *May* 1687. finding the work so great, both in the Charge and Hazard, and too much for my self to carry on alone, being so much discouraged ; though I had done so much for the King and Kingdoms good, not being willing so good a work should fall to the Ground ; a third Petition was drawn up by order of several Merchants and Clothiers in *Exon* (who by their Mayor had Petitioned the late King about the *French* Kings Prohibiting all *English* Woollen Manufacture in his dominions) pursuant to the Petitions before mentioned page. 11 and 12, and there being a Proclamation then ordered at the Treasury, the same was at last agreed to, by the said Commissioners of the Customs ; to which Proclamation two Clauses were desired in the Petition to be added (*viz.*) one to Impower some Merchants and Factors in *London*, to appoint persons to Seize Wooll, and prosecute the Offenders. The other to Collect voluntary Contributions, to defray the Charge thereof.

And a Person in great Favour with the late King, undertook to have it added to the Proclamation, and dyrected me to carry the Petition and Clauses, to the Clerk of the Council ; who was to get the said Kings hand that day to the Proclamation, and whilst I was there with the Clerk, word was brought that the Commissioners of the Customs would not have any Clause added ; so I lost my Labour, and the Proclamation came forth without those Clauses. Nevertheless I kept things on foot, though with great difficulty ; and prosecuted divers Persons in the Exchequer, and convicted one *Henry Colmer*, whose Tryal I mentioned in page 11, but not his name ; which *Colmer* was to be employed by the order of *St. Nicolas Butler*, in the Room of Capt. *Knight*, when I petitioned the late King in *July* 1685, for the Two Sloops then laid down by the Commissioners page 10th. After which time I drew up another Petition signed by several clothiers and Factors, which being referred to the Commissioners of the customs, and upon their Report at last did consent what they had a long time opposed, and upon their Report to the Council, Mr. Attorney General was ordered to draw up a Commission, which past the Broad Seal the 28th. of *June* 1688. and the same day I was Inportuned by some of the Commissioners to send down Two Men and Horses into *Kent* and *Sussex*, to take care of inspecting and preventing that Mischief, being then Shearing-time which accordingly I did do the very same day ; and defrayd the Charge my self.

That some time after was ordred by a Committee of the said Commissioners, to fitt out Two Sloops to be at Sea, and two or three Men more at Land to attend that Service, and when they were fitted I went down and gave dyrections therein from time to time, and prevented great quantities of Wooll from Exportation, and some Vessells seize, and some Wooll taken in the Night time, as the same was Carrying on Horse Backs to the Sea Side, and some of the Exporters themselves secured, who discovered near Thirty others ; against the Cheifest of which I procured a Warrant from the late Lord Chief Justice *Wright*, and with as much wariness as I could (some of them before havinge Absconded) was secured 8 or 10 of the Cheifest of them, and desired the Mayor of *Rumney* to Commit them, but he admitted them to Baile, tho I insisted hard to the contrary ; But he was not so well pleased that I did not come first to him, which if I had, it possible I should have hardly got one of them upon that Warrant, and good reason for that he himself is since discovered

to be, and is now prosecuted for the same Fact. I shall conclude with these following Affidavits, viz.

*The Information of James Webb. John Edwards.
and Henry Spillet.*

THese Informants maketh Oath, that being employed in the Executing of a Warrant from the Lord Chief Justice against several Exporters of Wooll, living in *Rumney*; and was on the 11th Instant severally informed of Thirty Packs of Wooll, intended to be shipped and transported that Night. These Deponents, *James Webb* and *John Edwards*, together with *John Milner* was arrested in several Actions, on purpose, as these Deponents believe to prevent them of Seizing the said Wooll; that at or near the same time one *John Slaughter* a Transporter of Wooll, and one that was taken upon the said Warrant, & bound over to the Assizes; came with a Hanger into the Room, and provoked them to Fight; until by the Mayor of *Rumney* was forced to be gone, the next Morning these Deponents preparing for *Lyd*, news was brought there, that the said *John Slaughter* was come Armed with Ten other persons near at hand, and Ten more expected to Assault these Deponents; Mr. *Carter* and his Company, upon which news the said Mr. *Carter* sent to the Mayor to desire him to keep the Peace, and shortly after went to *Lyd*, and being informed there also sum intentions to Export Wooll that Night, whereupon these Deponents and Company, prepared to go out to the Sea-side, about Eight of the Clock that Night, and going in the Street, were assaulted by several persons unknown, and one of our Company Wounded, but afterwards discovered one to be the Bayliffs Son of *Lyd*, who came to our Lodging and threatened that if any stirred out of the House, we should be fired at, out of the Town; words to that effect, he being sent by the Bayliff his Father, as he said: But the reason as these Deponents believe is, was that they might not be interrupted in the exportation of Wooll, as before intended; that about one of the Clock at Night, a great body of Horse and some Foot, (supposing after they had shipped the Wooll) came about the House where we Lodged, firing several times Shouting and Railing upon us, but upon the Importunity of Mr. *Carter*; these Deponents, nor any of the Company did Fire any Gun, when we had the opportunity of Killing of them, and were provoked in our own defence so to do. These Deponents further maketh Oath, that when it was light, they went to the said Bayliffs House about the Ryot, and desiring his Assistance, in the search after the persons Guilty of the said Ryot; and asked whether there was any Watch in the Towne the Night before, as his Son pretended that there was, but inquiring into it by several J rats and others, and onst being found there was no Watch that Night, nor any ordered nor had been at any time before: That about Ten of the Clock the same day the said Deponent, was followed by about Fifty Horsemen, near the *Camber point*, over against *Rye*.

James Webb. John Edwards. Henry Spillet.

This Deponant, *John Edward*, further maketh Oath; that all the men except two with the horses, got into their Sloops Boats lying ready for them, and perceiving that some of the horsemen riding near the two men with our horses, the said men left their horses on the *Camber-point*, and got into a Boat and put off; but the horsemen fired both at the men in the Boat, and also at the horses; and here since that one of the horses is killed.

James Atkins, Master of a Vessel called the *Diligence*; did see a Party of Horse armed, following Mr. *Carter* and several of his assistance, the 13th. instant *December*; intending as this Deponent believeth to do some mischief to them, for that some of the horsemen fired at his men in a Boat, as they was coming off the *Camber*; the Shot Grazing near the Boat. *James Atkins.*

John Syer Marriner, maketh Oath; that being imployed in a Vessel, called the *Merchants Defence*; to prevent the Exportation of Wooll, he the said Deponent was required, with several others to assist in the Execution of the Lord Chief Justice Warrant, against several Exporters of Wooll; and having performed that service the 12th. of this instant *December*, came that day to *Lyd*, in order to go to *Rye*; on Board their Vessel then lying at Anchor there; and about Eight or Nine of the Clock in the night time, he with the rest of his company at the request of Mr. *Carter*; was going towards the Sea-side to Seize, & Prevent the Exportation of Wooll; which was supposed to be intended to be transported that night, and as this Deponent and Company, were going through the Street, was set on by several persons unknowne, who received several Wounds, and afterwards found one of the persons to be the Bayliff Son of *Lyd*, after which time several persons came to this Deponents Lodgings, firing several times, and railed upon this Deponent and Company.

And this Deponent further maketh Oath, that the next day being the 13th. instant, he with the rest of the Company coming toward *Rye* as aforesaid, was pursued, by about fifty horsemen or thereabouts, armed and had not the Boats belonging to several Vessels gave their attendance and took us in, we might have been destroyed. *John Syer.*

Andal Gosley maketh Oath, that on the 13th instant *December*; there being a great Body of Horse come on the *Camber* near *Rye*, being supposed *Irish*, or *French*; which put the Town of *Rye* into a great fear, and being on the other side of the Harbor, the Magistrates sent some Persons in a Boat, to discover who they were, and the Reasons being enquired into, was to do some mischief to Mr. *William Carter*, and his Assistance; who had taken up sum Persons for Transportation of Wooll: These Horsemen following them so fast that Mr. *Carters* Men could not get their Horses over the Ferry, but left them on the *Camber Point*. This

This Deponent, being afterwards sent, by the said Mr. Carter; to look after the Horses, went as far as *Lyd*, where one *John Slaughter* owned the Horses to be in his Custody, and would keep them so for damages, pretended to be done him by the said Mr. Carter; and further said that his name was *Slaughter*, and a *Slaughter* he should find of him.

And this Deponent further saith, that some others then in the Company of the said *Slaughter*, said that they would secure his Body, and some others his Soul, for that neither was his own. *Randal Gosley.*

The Voluntary Deposition, of William Ellis of Dover Mariner, taken as followeth.

THis Deponent maketh Oath, that coming from *Chatham* to *Rye*, in the County of *Sussex*; pass'd by the way of *Lyd*, on the 13th. of *Decem.* and at a place called *Broomhill House*; on this side *Lyd* aforesaid; this Deponent met with two Men on Horseback, who askt this Deponent whether he was going, he answered for *Gilford-Ferry* in order to *Rye*; one of them Swore (God-Dam-you) you are one of the Rogues that was at *Lyd* last night, and if they thought this Deponent was one (they would share him) meaning as this Deponent beleveth, in Sea terms, dividing of him; but he, this Deponent using good Language, and telling them he was not the Person they took him for, they let him pass.

But, when this Deponent came to *Gilford-Ferry*, there was one *John Smith* of *Gilford*, came in with a Bottle of Wine in his hand, and coming where this Deponent sat by the fire side, he Swore (by God) this is one of the Rogues belonging to the Sloops, and said let us bind his neck and heels, and share him, the said *Smith* further said, there lyes *Warners Horse*, and he knew who shot him with a Slug, by which the horse fell downe, but rose againe, and some Person knockt him downe with a Clubb; and upon the same Shot. This Deponent heard *John Smith* of *Gilford*, say, that the Blood gushed from the Horse, and he further saith, that could he light of Mr. *Webb*, *John Warner*, *Henry Spillet*, or any of the Sloops-crew; they would certainly Kill them. And further this Deponent saith not. *William Ellis.*

Jurat Coram me Tresime,

die Decembris Anno.

Dom. 1688.

Ditto John Spaine Mayor.

These are all True Copys of the Original upon Record, here examined by me. Henry Darlington Town-Clerk; and Publique Notory, of the Ancient Town of Rye, Sussex.

That I have indited near 20 of the Exporters at the Assizes, at *Maidston* in *Kent*; and some of them a second time, for that they had stolen *Wooll* that had been seized, and exported the same; and also indited about 10 of those in the *Ryots* before-mentioned, in the several Affidavits at the same Assizes.

And likewise about 12 I have indited at the Assizes at *Hos- som* in *Sussex*, for the said *Ryot*; and in a faire way to discover and prosecute near 20 more of them, which in all probability may put a great stop to this Mischeif at present, if not to much discouraged as hitherto; to instance only the *Bill* now depending, which I have attended this Six Months, with no small difficulty, not only being opposed at the several Committees (which in all hath been 19 Adjournments) and Personallly by some Falcely accused, as being a great Rogue, and an Exporter of *Wooll* my self; this some of you hath been *Eye* and *Eare* Witnesses of; you cannot but think it hard, and after ali to be Laught at by some of the same Persons and some others; to have no mannor of recompence, not so much as my daily Pocket expences; nay not so much as to pay passage by Water in this time; which I have oughten times tould some of you, that had I had the necessary expences in attending the *Bill*, it had past into a Law a bove Fower Monthes since, and then no such Clogg as now is put upon it, purposely as its said by some to hinder the *Bill*: So that, Gentlemen its not my fault that these evils are still continued.

E I N I S.

[illegible]

21413

**ENGLAND'S Interest Asserted,
IN THE
IMPROVEMENT
OF ITS
NATIVE COMMODITIES;
And more especially the
Manufacture of WOOL:**

Plainly shewing its Exportation Un-manufactured, amounting unto Millions of Loss to His MAJESTY, and Kingdom.

With some Brief Observations of that worthy Author Sir *WALTER RAWLEY*, touching the same.

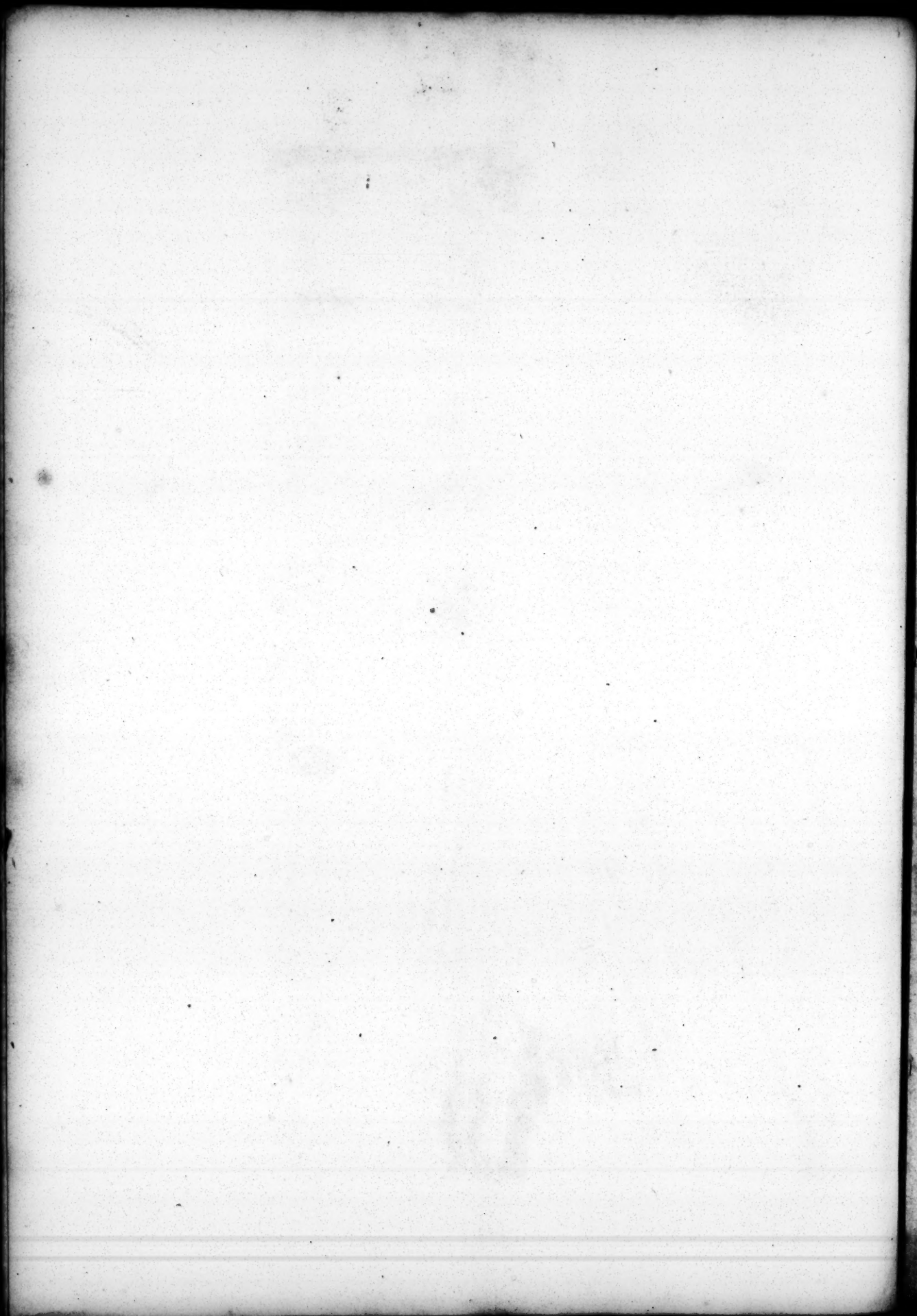
All Humbly presented to His MAJESTY, and Both Houses of PARLIAMENT.

By a true Lover of His Majesty, and Native Country.

Licensed by *Roger L'estrange*.

LONDON,

Printed for *Francis Smith*, and are to be sold at the *Elephant and Castle* without *Temple-Bar*, and by *Henry Morlock* at the *White Horse* in *Westminster-Hall* 1669.





Englands Glory.

BY THE
Benefit of *Wool* Manufactured therein,
from the *Farmer* to the *Merchant*; and the
Evil Consequences of its *Exporta-*
tion Unmanufactured.

Briefly Hinted,
With Submission to better Judgments.



Here is no King nor Prince in the World, known by experience, or upon Record, that hath such means to support their Splendour and Greatness as his Majesty of great *Britain*, nor has any Country or Nation such variety of staple Commodities within it self, and in such abundance, as hath the Kingdom of *England*, which are said by some to be a Hundred Native Commodities, which produceth a Thousand sorts of Manufactures: So that if those advantages were duly im-

A

proved,

(2)
proved, *England* might be a general Mart for the whole World, and then by consequence be the glory thereof. That those advantages are not improved is too too obvious to all that look into it, by the sore complaints that are frequently made of the great poverty and decay thereof; and indeed (which is worst of all) by that general desperation of spirit which will not put forth a hand to help, support, or prevent the total desolation of our Country, upon a prepossest opinion, that all endeavours will be rendred fruitless and abortive.

The consideration whereof hath greatly prompted me (who must confess my self the meanest of Thousands more concerned) to use the utmost of my little skill, and unwearied diligence (though but as the Womans mite) to the right management of so great an undertaking; that the threatned ruine of all may be prevented, and (if possible) some good part of what is lost may be recovered. And whereas many have taken in hand to set forth these things, some treating of one thing, and other of another, which if all was collected and harmonized, it might very much conduce to the promoting of this weighty affair, of so publick a value: I shall confine my self to those things only, whereof I have had not only credible information, but a considerable (though a sad) experimental knowledge; and in a more particular and especial manner that of *Wool*, and of its Manufacture and Consequences, which amongst many, is the Richest Treasure in his Majesties Dominions, the flower, strength, and sinews of this Nation; a Land uniting the People into Societies, for their own Utility; it is the Milk and Honey to the Grazier and Country Farmer; the Gold and Spices of the East and West *Indies* to the Merchant, and Citizens, the continued supply of Bread to the Poor: and in a word, the Exchequer of wealth, and staple of protection to the whole, both abroad and at home; and therefore of full merit to be had in perpetual remembrance, defence, and encouragement for the most advantageous improvement thereof.

The *Wools* of *England* (before it was manufactured within it self) have ever been of great account and esteem abroad, sufficiently testified unto, by the great amity, which it begat, and for many Hundred Years (inviolably) maintained, between the King of *England* and Dukes of *Burgundy*, only for the great benefit, that (from that

that Commodity) did accrew to that People, inſomuch that the *English* Wools, they receiv'd at 6 *d.* per Pound, they returned again (through their induſtrious manufacture thereof) in Cloth, at 10 *s.* per Yard, to the great enriching of that State, both in the advancement of the Revenues of their Sovereign, and in a full employment (thereby) continued among the People; whereby the Merchants of this Nation were occaſioned, (as a People unwilling to be wholly diſpriviledged of ſo great a benefit) to transport themſelves (with their Families (in great numbers) into *Flanders*, from whence they held a conſtant Commerce with moſt parts of the World; this continued without intermiſſion, between *England* and *Burgundy*, until King *Edward* the 3^{d.} made his mighty Conqueſts over *France*, & *Scotland*; and as a ſuitable improvement of ſo great a mercy, did wiſely project, and alſo accompliſh the manufacture of Wools within the Bowels of this Kingdom, to the great enriching of his own People; and alſo to the Propling of his new Conquered Dominions; the memory of whole wiſdome and care for his People, is worthy to be had in remembrance by *English* Men, unto the Worlds end.

The ſaid King having thus ſetled the manufacture of Wools within the Kingdom of *England*, confined it by a penal Statute, which (at firſt) reached not only to Goods, Chattels, and Land, but alſo to Members, and Life it ſelf; but in a ſhort time repealed the two latter thereof, continuing the other in its full force to remain to future Generations: which exceeding great advantage to the proſperity of the *English* Trade, hath now continued theſe Three Hundred Years, by the vigilancy of the Kingdoms Monarchs, and the protection of its Laws, in the continued careful execution thereof upon offenders, with more than a little diligence to provide againſt the thirſting deſires of Foreiners to wreſt this Native privilege (of ſo great a moment) out of *English* hands, which by the providence of God (through the great care of our Anceſtors) has been (for many Ages) enjoyed by the Nation, as it is indeed its proper right: But ſo it is, that (for ſome years paſt) the diligence of Foreiners, to enrich themſelves upon us, has ſo much exceeded our care to preſerve our ſelves, that it's now come to, if not beyond a queſtion, Who have the greateſt benefit of the manufacture of *English* Wools, they who have no right unto it, or they to whom of right it doth belong? That

That this is indeed so, will appear, by considering that not only *Holland, Flanders, and Zealand* have long sucked the sweetness of the sinews of our Trade; but *France* is likewise learning to be too hard for us, as is manifest by the great quantities of Wools, that (of late years) have been transported from *England* and *Ireland* thither; how injurious it must be to us, is also unquestionable, if we consider the consequence thereof, which was (without question) much in the Eye of our Ancestors, as appears by what is above hinted in *Edward* the 3^d time, and in several Kings Reigns since.

Every Pack of Wool sent to *France*, doth prevent us (not only) of the benefit of the manufacture thereof, but of two Packs more besides it self, viz. Thus, it being combed, and combed Wool (for the most part) exported thither, the *French* (having no Wools of their own, but such as are very coarse) are not able to make Cloth, or fine Stuff, without the conjunction of ours therewithall; there being none (to my best information) fit for that purpose in all the World, but ours only, all other being likewise coarse, but *Spanish*, and that much too fine (especially for Worked Stuffs, and not in any wise fit for combing; so that without *English* or *Irish* Wools there can be no fine Worked Stuffs, nor a middle sort of Cloth made, in the whole World; neither will any Wools be well mixed together, but *English* and *Spanish*, (only for Cloth) because the *Spanish* is with the *English* of one nature, being formerly *English* Sheep, though now much finer, from the alteration of the Climate, and the nature of the Land whereon it is fed, as by good experience appeareth here in *England*, both neer, and at a farther distance.

Wherefore the exportation of *English* Wools into *France* must of necessity be greatly prejudicial to this Nation, not only in the quantity sent over, but also in the advantage which is thereby given them to manufacture a double portion of their own Wool, (which formerly was little worth) into such commodities, as spoyle us of the advantage of our proper Trade; not only thither, but also into other parts, viz. in these three respects.

First, The combed of the *English* Wool makes Wooffe for the Warpes of the *French* Wool, and so takes up (it may be) as much as the quantity above specified, to every Pack of *English* Wool,

without which, they can (only) with their Wool make Rugs, and at the best, Cloth for Sea-men, and the like.

2^{dly}. Their combings or pinnions, viz. the short Wool that's combed out of the Worsted, serves for their Linnen warp to make some of their Druggets, because their Linnen being fine spun, and coloured, is not discernable to all Persons, to be that we call *Linsie Woolse*.

3^{dly}. The finest short *English* Wool is mixed with the lowest of *Spanish* Wool, called short Wool, for some of their best Druggets, that is woove for Worsted Chanies, and also for a middle sort of Broad-cloth, about 10 s. or 12 s. per Yard. This is the cause (I judg) that short *Spanish* Wool is so scarce here in *England*.

Now if we consider these things together, the dammage of the exporting of this one Pack from *England* to *France*, at about 10 l. or 12 l. Sterling, preventing the manufacturing of two Packs more in *England*, which would be worth one 100 l. *Englands* los (in the whole) by the exportation of a Pack of Wool, is little less than 90 l. in its first exportation, moreover considering the Custom paid when exported (if manufactured in *England*) with the Frait and Custom where it is imported; the product of all these charges augmenting the 100 l. when sold there, laid out in another commodity beyond Sea, the Custom whereof being paid there, with Frait and Custom (when imported) in *England*, it's much, if it do not more than double the first principal.

Now, if it be so, that the exportation of one Pack of *English* wool, exported at 10 l. or 12 l. be neer 200 l. dammage to the King and Kingdom in general, is the consequence; what will be the los in the exporting of 10. or 15. Thousand Packs into *France* (in two Years time) is easily accounted (by such) as are concerned in the affaires: And although this evil is almost incredible to many, yet it is too manifest, to such as have made (something) their business to look into it; and not only so, but these further inconveniences must (by this means) arise upon us.

First, The spoyling of our Trade with *France* in all our Woollen manufactures, as doth already appear, by the Impost put upon the same, there, from 20. to 40. per Cent. since so great quantitie of our VVools is exported thither, whereunto woful experience may be a sufficient witness.

And secondly, In time it will capacitate the *French*, as well as the *Dutch*, (if not much better) to under-sell our *English* Merchants, in Forrein Parts, nay (possibly) in our own Country. (to this, I shall only mention the words of a Merchant in *Flanders*, by Letter to another here, treating on this matter thus, *We English have our throats cut, with our own Weapons, wondering at the Stupidity of the English here, that they should so long omit, to possess the King's Majesty with this deplorable and dangerous case, in respect to the present and future inconveniences thereof.*) by reason whereof (as in time the *French* will not only prevent our *English* woollen manufactures, to be sold in *France* (as before minded) and also in other Forrein Parts, but also bring theirs into *England*, and sell them for four times the value here, to the great enriching of themselves, and to the impoverishing of the *English*, only by new fantastick fopperies; for which the *English* pay not less than some hundred thousands in a year, to get themselves into the *French* mode; So much (indeed) have we been deceived (in this matter) to our shame, as well as to our apparent loss; that whereas (in time of the late War) with the *Dutch* and *French*, those *French* Druggets were thereby much prevented, many *English* striped broad-cloths rent through into three parts (about 10 s. per Yard, price) being put into the form of *French* Druggets, were sold in each part at 8 s. per Yard; and so (in the whole) came to 4 s. per Yard. So likewise it is certainly true, that many of those Druggets made here in *England* goe for *French*, and in order thereunto, directed to *French* Men in some of our Southern parts, have from thence been conveyed unto *London* (and there sold for *French* Goods) to have coloured the business with the Custom-house Officers, to save the Custom of *French* Druggets. And this continued long, before the cheat could be discovered; but being once found out by the Clothier, (who could not (to his own private advantage) conceal such an apparent injury to his Country, it was soon prevented: whereby we may come to see (with clearness) the advantage, that that People makes upon our *English* fancies, by over-selling us in the same kind of commodities, that they make out of our *English* Wools, joyned (as before minded) with their own; having also an advantage thereunto, by the cheapness of the manufactures thereof, beyond what we can do (the *French* being very

very populous, and living harder than we can in *England*; as is evident by their Linnens, that Paying Freight and Custom with profit to the Merchant, yet can be afforded cheaper than can be made in *England*.

But so it is, that the advantage we give them, besides, in the mixture of our Wools with theirs, is such, that whereas their Wool of it self, is not worth above 4*l.* per Pack, being mixed with ours, becomes so fit for Worsted-stuffes, as that it comes to be worth no less than 12*l.* per Pack. So that all those things considered, it becomes obvious to every Eye, (that doth not (wilfully) close it self) that the exportation of Wool from *England* and *Ireland* is of a dangerous and destructive nature to the very being of the Trade of this Kingdom. Whatever objections have been made (with respect to the Graziers present advantage) thereunto, whose loss may possibly be supposed (by prohibiting exportation) to be about 20*s.* in every Pack of Wool that's so exported: In answer whereunto, I have this to say, That though it may be granted, it will be so for a time in this one particular commodity, yet such will (thereby) be the spoyle of the general Trade of the Nation, that what is gotten in one, will be lost in every other commodity, as Corn, Beefs, and Muttons; on each of which, with the Wools, the Farmers and Graziers advantage doth much more than equally depend; besides the inevitable danger of the ruine of our Trade, and so consequently the starving of our Poor, without some extraordinary means for their support; who while the priviledge of our Trade is kept inviolate with other Nations, we have money plentifully to expend for the advancement of the Farmers and the Graziers; for that is that which chiefly advanceth the Grazier and Farmer, which is Flesh and Corn, and not the quantity of Wool, as afterwards will more fully appear.

And it hath always been observed (in former and latter times) hitherto, that when the Clothiers have had the best Trade at *London*, the Farmer did not loose his share in the advantage thereof in the Country; according to the dispose of providence, who hath ordered Nations, but more especially the People of every Nation, (in matters of this kind) to depend upon each other, and so to rise or fall together, as they are designed to mercy, or to judgment, by the hand of God. These things considered, with a little deliberation,

ration, it will manifestly appear, that the exporting of our *English* Wool, will not only prove the spoil of our Merchants and Clothiers Trade, and so consequently expose the Poor to desperate straits for subsistence, but (in short time) must of necessity make the Country mens employments (of every kind) to come to little, and so make them incapable of paying Rent.

For, if it be so, that while we have but a little Trade, we can hardly live one by another, What may be expected, if our Trade should be taken away? which is now more in danger (by the *French*) than it hath been these 300. Years past. And then we may consider, what the price of Wool may be in *England*, when we by our remissness shall lose our Trade, by the skill and circumventing practices of Foreigners, and we helping forwards for a supposed profit; For there was not more art and skill in our Ancestors, to bring home the work at first to the Wool, and prohibiting the exportation thereof, and setting the manufacturing in *England*, than is now to export the materials thereof unmanufactured. The necessary consequence will be to bring the Price of Wool (as it was 300. Years ago, when most was exported) to 6 d. per Pound, as appears in a little Piece, called, *The Golden Fleece*, written by W. S. Gent.) in the Year, 56. although the Cloth made in *Flanders* of our Wools, at 6 d. per Pound, was then sold here in *England* at 10 s. per Yard, when at this Day the Cloth made in *England* of Wool, worth 12 d. per Pound will hardly yield 7 s. per Yard, which is above 30. per Cent. worse to the *English* Trade now, than it was to the *Flemmings* formerly.

And though for the present, the price of Wool be risen by its exportation, yet if the quantity lately exported (being no less than 20. Thousand Packs) had been kept in *England*, the quantity (if not with 10. Thousand Packs more) would in time have been exported in the particular manufactures. For if the Wool was not exported to those places beyond the Seas, there to be manufactured, they must of necessity have our Woollen manufacture, and then could not have those advantages (as before hinted) by our Wools, to improve the *French* wool, and short *Spanish* wool, and their fine-spun Linnens.

By all which, it is so obvious, that in time to come, the Wools in *England* would be much cheaper, because by the aforesaid means

means, less Wool would be used in *England*; and besides that which would be used, the manufacture would be so low, that it could not bear up any price (as is begun already in *France*, and will suddenly follow in *England*) for it is generally reported, that Wool is as cheap in *France* at this Day, as it is in some parts where it is used in *England*. And if it be so now, what in reason can be expected, as the effects of these two things? *viz.* The first, when the great quantity that is lately exported to *France*, with those three additions before hinted, that the 20. Thousand Packs helps to work out, and especially most making *VVorsted* Stuffs, which goes as far by that means, as 40. Thousand Packs of Wool would if used in *England*, because it would be made more into substantial Cloaths, which consumes more Wool, than those light and thin Stuffs do: which is a sufficient Answer to that Objection, that the great quantity of any commodity, that is exported, must be of scarcity, and so consequently raise the price: which I must confess, if it was a consumptive commodity, but it is quite contrary in this. For as our experience is, when the *VWool* was all used in *England*, (or very little exported) then it was 18 *d.* per Pound, and when all, or the greatest part was exported, it was at 6 *d.* per Pound.

The wise Man saith, *What is, hath been; and, what hath been, may be again;* and so no new thing.

I shall conclude with a short review of the Graziers and Farmers present loss: In the greatest Commodity, which pays his Rent, as was formerly hinted. Suppose, through want of Trade, Mutton be sold but at 6 *d.* per Quarter (which is but little) being 2 *s.* per Sheep; and there being some Sheep that one 100. will but produce a Pack of Wool (though some less) that comes to 10 *l.* which is the worth of the Pack of Wool, (and so proportionably as to Beefs) which is wholly lost to the Grazer.

And for the Corn (as I suppose) there may be about 50 *ls.* worth, (as far as I can judge in my travels, to One Hundred Sheep throughout the Nation, which for want of a Trade, it may not (at some seasons) come to Thirty or Forty at most; and if a good Trade, it may be worth Sixty or Seventy: By which means it may easily be demonstrated, how the Farmers come to be impoverished.

The advantage of the Tenant consists in the advance of the greatest Commodity that pays his Rent, which is not in Wool, but in Corn: and it is a necessary consequence, that there being so many Thousand Families depending upon the Cloathing Trade, which (as before hinted) was instrumental to advance the price of Corn, that where-ever Trade is, there People are most populous, and when those Persons are deprived of their Trade, depending wholly upon it, they must unavoidably come to the Parishes: which is in many Places begun already, and Daily increasing; and feared in time will so increase, that the Poor will be expecting more than there will be to contribute to them. And as there be in many Country Parishes Ten that live on the Trade, for One that can live of himself: What will become of those Parishes, when the Trade is gone? So that it may easily be concluded that the Farmers loss for want of Trade is four-fold greater than the Pack of Wool, by the lowness of the price of Corn. And this is the true reason: for those Persons that formerly, when there was a Trade, could lay out *Ten Shillings* in Corn, have now but *Five Shillings*, which being multiplyed by Hundreds of Thousands in the Nation, it will be no difficult point to see which way the Grazier and Farmer come to be undone, and so are forced to give up their Lands into their Landlords hands: For it is not so much the super-abounding Crops that lessens the price of Corn, but the want of Money. For I have known as much Corn grow Yearly, formerly, as is now, (when Trade was good) to be 20. or 30. per Cent. dearer than now.



S Ince the foregoing papers were printed, I met with an
 Objection against what was asserted page the 4th. (*viz.*)
 The *French* having that advantage of our *English* Wool,
 to help work up theirs being worser; and likewise, that
 according to my best Information, there was none fit for
 such purposes in all the world, (*viz.*) for fine Worstedes,
 or a middle sort of Cloath; but *English* and *Irish* (which is all
 one;) The Objection were, that there was Wools in most parts
 of the world; therefore why not proper for those purposes?
 Answer, that there is Wools was never gainsaid; but that there
 is such Wool for fineness and substance in all the world, except
Spanish, I cannot as yet ever receive; (as before I hinted) any
 satisfactory accompt. For the better satisfaction of the Reader, I
 shall give some account of the natures of Wools in *England*, but
 first of *Spanish* Wools: They are the finest in all the world for
 Cloath, but not so fit for Worsted, being too fine and short, and
 those Wools also are one in nature with our *English*, being at
 first from Sheep that were *English* Transported thither; and
 though that be much finer by reason of the Climate, yet is it still
 one in nature; next to it is *Lempster* Wool, almost as fine as
Spanish; then next part of *Shropshire* and *Stafford-shire*, part of
Glocester-shire, *Wilts*, *Dorset*, *Hampshire*, part of *Sussex*, and
 part of *Kent*, *Summerset*, *Devon*, and *Cornwall*, most part for
 Cloath, some small parts for Worstedes. Amongst all these Count-
 ries, there is 9. d. per pound difference in the prises of one place,
 (*viz.*) *Lempster*, from some other parts; but then again part of
Sussex and *Surrey*, *Middlesex*, *Hertfordshire*, and some other
 Counties 2. d. 3. d. per pound cheaper then the lowest of the
 abovementioned Counties; but then for *Barke-shire*, *Bucking-*
ham, *Warwick*, *Oxford*, *Leicester*, *Nottingham*, *Northampton*,
 C and

and *Lincoln*, part of *Kent* called *Rumney Marsh*, most part of the last mentioned Counties, and part of *Irish* Wools is so proper for Worsted Stuffs, that all the world cannot be compared with it. And hence it is, that the cares of our Ancestors have been such, (ever since King *Edward* the 3^d. in most Kings Reignes) there have been some Lawes made or altered, and in some Kings Reigns altered three or four times to make it effectual: and for a memorial to future Generations, are the Wool-packs in the Lords House in *Westminster* for Seats, to put them in mind of what is the foundation of the Riches of the Kingdome, that it is by the various Streams of the Manufactures thereof, as formerly in the Front briefly hinted from the Farmer to the Merchant. I shall now endeavour to give some particular account how all are conserved, And before I do this, give me leave to insert the Observation of a worthy Author Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, that I have met withal since the former Papers were Written, who saith, That, then which was in King *James's* Reign, about fourscore thousand undrest & undyed Cloaths yearly were Transported: whereby it was evident that the Kingdome hath been yearly deprived of about 400000. l. which in fifty five years is near 20 Millions, that would have been gained by the labour of poor Workmen in that time, with the Merchants gains for bringing in dying Stuffs, and returns of Cloaths drest and dyed, with other benefits to the Realm, besides exceeding inlargeing of Traffick, and increase of Ships and Mariners.

There would have been gained in that time, about three Millions by increase of Customs upon Commodities returned for Cloaths drest and dyed, and for dying Stuffs, which would have been more plentifully brought in and used for the same.

There hath been also Transported in that time yearly, by Bayes, *Northern* and *Devonshire* Kerzyes white, about 50000. Cloaths counting three Kerzyes to a Cloath, whereby hath been lost about five Millions by those sorts of Cloaths, in that time which would have come to poor Work-men for their labour, with Customs for dying Stuffs, and the peoples profit for bringing them in with returns of other Commodities and Fraights for shipping.

Bayes are Transported white into *Amsterdam*, and being there dyed

dyed and drest, are shipped into *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other Kingdomes, where they are sold in the name of *Flemish Bayes*, setting their own Town Seals upon them; so that we lose the very name of our home-bred Commodities, and other Countrys get the Reputation and Credit thereof. Lamentable it is that this Land should be deprived of so many above-mentioned Millions, as that our Native Commodities of Cloath, ordained of God for the natural Subjects, being so Royal and rich in it self, should be driven to so small advantage of Reputation & Profit to your Majesty and People, and so much improved and intercepted by Strangers; considering that God hath enabled and given your Majesty power to advance dressing and dying, and Transporting all your Cloaths within a year or two: I speak it knowingly, to shew how it may be done laudibly, lawfully, and approved to be Honourable, feaseable, and profitable.

He observes also the increase of his Majesties Customs, by bringing in and spending of dying Stuffs, as also strength in shipping, & setting so many thousands of poor on work; also noting that in the Low Countrys, where these Cloaths are drest and dyed, they stretch them to such unreasonable length, contrary to our Law, that they prevent and forestale our Markets, and cross the just prohibition of our State and Realm, by their Agents, and Factors, lying in divers places with our own Cloaths, to the great decay of this Kingdome in general, & discredit to our Cloaths in particular. Again, he adds, that if the accounts were truly known, it would be found that they make not clear profit only by Cloath Transported rough, undrest, and undyed, sixty thousand pounds a year; but it is most apparent your Majesty, in your Customs, your Merchants in their Sales and Prizes; your Subjects in their Labours, for lack of dressing and dying; your Ships and Mariners in not bringing in of dying Stuffs, spending of *Alum* (if not *Copperas*) are hindered yearly near a Million of pounds: So that Trade is driven to that great hinderance of your Majesty and People, by permitting your Native Commodities to pass rough, undrest, and undyed. Thus Sir *Walter Rawleigh*:

Now if it was thus with *England* so long agoe, when the Wool was spun and made here into substantial Cloath; and that for want only of dressing and dying, many Millions were lost to the King and Kingdom: What then hath been the los of so many

thousand Packs of Wool exported (without any improvement, especially that to *France*, the consequence of which is more prejudicial (as hath been demonstrated) than can be imagined (accounting but one hundred pounds damage by one Pack of Wool,) of which there are no less than ten thousand yearly, if not much more exported, by which there is damage a Million of pounds *sterling*, yearly to this Kingdome, (besides the suffering of the Poor for want of Imployment) out of which his Majesties damage cannot be less then 100000 pound yearly: The lessening of Shipping, and discouragement of Mariners; the Walls of this Kingdome hereby deserve also to be considered.

Next then to his Majesties loss, is that of the Merchant and Cloathier; after which must follow detriment to all other persons depending on Trade, there being such a Connexion of Trades one to another, and (the whole of Trade being enlarged by the abounding of Laborious People. Those supply the Farmers and Graziers with money, for you to supply the Gentry. They again scatter it amongst the Tradesmen, as may be witnessed by the building of the City of *London*, how Provision and all Consumptive goods are advanced by it: by which circulation all degrees are either employed, enriched, or both; and hence naturally comes Content, Harmony, and Pleasure, one in another; the Poor being by Imployment delivered from fear of want, the Gentry, Merchant, and Tradesmen, by the establishment of Trade therein. This Rationally is the strength of any People, Poverty and Idleness brings their shame and Ruine, which would unavoidably follow want of Trade. And so much the more where the greatest Trade hath been; if it fails, the greater Poverty is and will be. And to instance, as here, in *London*, the Trade in Provision is the more, so by Consequence it must be dear, and so best for all; so of the other hand, if the City should be forced to keep so many thousands, when all their work is done, as is now in the Building, it would be a great burden: so the case is in *England* in this particular, where great Trade have been formerly kept, and drawn several Families thither, and have raised Commodities there; but when it fails, it is a miserable state and condition those places are in. To return, in short there

there is such Connexion and dependency one upon another in *England*, that if one fail, all the rest more or less, either more near, or remotely are concerned; as in the natural body, when any member fails, the whole suffers thereby; and as all Trades and degrees of men may suffer by one mistake in Trades, and in none more probably. I will say then this of Wool, as Merchants, Artificers, Farmers, Sea-men, Fisher-men, being the people, which by their study and labour do principally, if not only bring in, or give occasion to the bringing in of wealth to the Nation, and other kind of people (*viz.*) Nobility, Gentry, Lawyers, Physicians, Schollars of all sorts; Shop-keepers are they that receive from these, and distribute it again, and all are consequently concerned in this rich Treasure of Wool, because this being a Manufacture at home, sets more hands at work than half the Nation.

May I not with modesty and within Compass, say three parts of Laborious and Industrious people? considering that most of the shipping is employed in this affair, and also so many Trades that depend immediatly upon this of Cloathing, that most of other Trades are but for Provision, either in Food or Conveniencies for Cloathing: and so from his Majesty to the meanest, all are more or less concerned, *The King mostly*; not only in that his People are by that most employed and provided for, nor in that such a Staple Trade, the like whereunto the world hath not with good Advantage thereby is maintained; but because so great a Revenue comes directly into him upon the Trade, occasioned thereby: Thus as the King gains, or suffers most, so the persons that have the greatest Estates or Trades, and so all proportionably to the Beggar. And also considering that an accustomed thing begets such an habit that is hard to reduce; as in our rough and undrest Cloath to *Holland*, so it will be with all our Manufactures in *France*; nay I am informed that the *French* hath not only imposed a great Tax upon our Woollen Manufactures, from twenty to forty *per cent*, but have also (as is affirmed, beside that their imposition) absolutely prohibited our Cloaths coming there. I am the more large in the demonstration of this affair, not only because this hath cost me many years labour and study to consult all sorts of concerned persons, besides

sides mine own experience about it ; nor because it is so hard to convince people of the meanst capacity, but some of the wiser sort, how to cure this dismal malady : which some despairing of, have rather thoughts of setting up some other Manufacture in Lieu of endeavours to prevent the exportation of Wool and Manufactur- ing of that at home, looking thereon as a thing not to be over- come, (as that of Linnens in some capable parts of *England*) and a better improvement in the product of forrein plantations, which may also be set upon together herewith as an addition; so as several sorts of persons may be set better on work, not capable of this employment, and yet no prejudice to this of Cloathing : for all other Countreyes have the advantage of *England*, or are equal to us in other Manufactures proper to their Countreys, but not in this of Cloathing: and it will be found that all Trades in *England*, wholly distinct from this of Cloathing, bring not the tythe of advantage that this doth.

Since men cannot rationally believe the effects to be greater than the cause, the most of other Manufactures either is in being, or brought to use, by the Manufactures of Wool ; even from the Farmer to the Merchant all are concerned in this of Wool, as may hereafter more appear. It now remains that we sum up *Englands* loss by the exportation of our Wool to Forrein Parts; not only in the advantage we might have by the Manufactureing thereof, here in *England*, as formerly noted ; but also in the importing of *Dutch* Cloath, and more in *French* Manufactures, because *England* improves not their own Wools; and of the humour of *English* people, in putting such a value upon *French* fancies, when themselves are in a better capacity, if improved, to produce the like, or better, and save the following sums.

1. One Million of pounds *Sterling* yearly, in the Exportation of our Wool.
2. Five hundred thousand pounds in rough Cloath, which is but half what Sir *Walter Rawleigh* observes in his time.
3. One hundred thousand pound yearly, in Importing *French* Manufactures superfluous.
4. Many thousand pounds in Importing *Dutch* Cloath.
5. And lastly, the evil consequences thereof in losing our Shipping, which would be encouraged thereby, & are the strength or walls

Walls of our Kingdome, as more particularly doth appear hereafter.

Having now discovered the damage, it is to *England*, in the Transportation of Wool from the King to the meanest, I shall endeavour also to discover the methods how it is done; and before I shall prescribe Remedy (for it is not enough to know distempers, especially such that are so Consumptive,) it is requisite to know the cause of those distempers; or else the supposed Remedies will in time come to be a disease, as it is too much in this case at this day in *England*: where the causes are mistaken, the Remedies are consequently misapplied, whereby a disease in supposition becomes one in effect; the methods or ways of this evil are---First, in *Rumny Marsh* in *Kent*, where the greatest part of rough Wooll is exported from *England*, put aboard French Shallops by night, ten or twenty men well armed to guard it; some other parts there are, as in *Sussex*, *Hampshire*, and *Essex*, the same methods may be used, but not so conveniently. The same for coombed Wool from *Canterbury*, they will carry it ten or fifteen miles at night towards the Sea, with the like guard as before; but for other parts it must be done partly by the Remifness of the Officers of his Majesties Customs, and easie Composition for the forfeitures of the Bonds, as more shall appear anon.

And then for coombed Wool in other parts, some is shipped off from *London* for Bales of Drapery; nay some at *Lime*, and also at *Exon*, where there is ten thousand pounds Sterling weekly laid out in the woollen Manufactory, which is most for Workmens wages: I know no place clear; and then another reason, why persons are not detected, is, because all the wools that have been taken in those parts, where most hath been exported, have been suffered to go off at the same places after Judgments past, and by the Officers, to the same persons at a low rate, being under rated to those very men that intended to ship it at first: so that the evil is never like to be avoyded that way; only that which is taken, happily may be a little the dearer, to keep the Trade going; for I have enquired, and cannot understand, but of two parcels of wool that have been seized on in *Kent*, that have been used in *England*, but all sent away, and so his Majesties providence

dence is cheated, who keeps Servants at great wages to prevent such abuses.

And then another cheat is under a pretense of wool from *Hampton*, to the Islands of *Jersey* and *Gernsey*, & sometimes from other parts which is against the Law; for there is no wool to be exported to those Islands, but only from *Hampton*, and that by Law should be by weight: but now it goes by gross, by the pack when it should be weighed, but I believe not one pack in ten is weighed, for three packs is put into one. Then from *Ireland*, which is the greatest mischief of all to *England*, and much increased since the Act was in force against Cattel, the *Irish* wool can be sold as cheap in *France*, *Holland*, and *Flanders*, as it is in those places where wool is used in *England*, which is a great augmentation to us of prejudice for Foreiners to have our wool so cheap as we in *England*, having other conveniencies to underwork us as formerly hinted. The wayes there must be by the carelesness of the Officers, in not taking solvant security and exactness in the weight of wool, and true examination of the returns of their Certificates, and partly by easie compositions, if not before bonds are forfeited, and happily much combed Wool there packt up as before, as bales of Cloath, or barrels of Beef, and shipped as *Irish* Cloath; and in all points so cunningly carried, as they are seldome discovered, and never sealed as the Statutes in that case made and provided, do strictly require.

Here see what *W. S.* saith: Now to shew you more particularly these abuses, how the Laws are crossed and daily obstructed to such as endeavour to serve their Country, by such as ought to encourage the prosecutors; sure there will be very many practises of evil consequents discovered; for first in the Custom-House, where bonds are taken, to the intent that these prohibited Commodities pass not by means of *Mariners* out of the Nation, but only from Port to Port for accommodation of such parts as want such Commodities; they are very Remiss and careless in taking of the Sea-mens discharge of their Obligatory Conditions; where also it is usual with the Sea-men to bring fraudulent Certificates, and so to cheat the Kings Providence, who keeps Servants at great wages purposely to prevent such abuses; or if there be a regular return of there Bonds, yet

yet there is commonly a fraudulency in giving them, for the Masters of Ships will so continue their designe, as he who is Master at giving the Bonds, and is legally bound, shall immediatly pass his Interest to another man, who taking charge of the Vessel and Voyage, is notwithstanding not engaged in the Poart Bond; and therefore, neither is he accomptable for breach of their condition, again, when the Port bonds are justly taken, and as justly returned; yet to prevent the true and real detection of the offender, and to dishearten the legal prosecutor, some friends of the offender will clap an information against him, purposely to hinder and divert others; and soon after will let the Prosecution fall at his pleasure; nay, it hath been said, and peradventure not unjustly, that such preventing informations have been antidated to the overthrow of the regal information; but when all is granted, and a full and formal hearing, and decree passed to the just condemnation of the offender: Yet when judgments and inquiries are granted, and do without errors of the Clerks, (which is not always,) impower the Sheriffs and their Bayliffs to see Execution thereof made; it is familiar with those Officers to return a non est inventus, or a mortus est; viz. Not to be found, or dead, even then when the Offenders and the Officers have been known to be drinking together, at that very time when the Writ should have been executed.

After all this, one step farther will shew how charrety it self abuseth Justice; for let all the former proceedings be granted, and be candid, and clear, and that the Law be indeed justly and legally executed; the offender in custody, and nothing remaining; but that he honestly discharge himself with money, seeing Bail will not be admitted; nevertheless upon a lamentable Petition, and urging a great charge of Children to the Bench, the Offender is usually admitted to compound for Ten in the Hundred, or less, when by his offence he hath gained a Hundred for Ten, or more, and peradventure hath undone a hundred Families or more in so doing: Yet all this while the honest Prosecutor, the only man that appears for the good of his Country, who ought by the Law to have the full benefit and advantage of the Law gratis, it being enough that he spend his time for the promotion of the publick Weal, after it hath cost him se-

ral great sums of money, & large expense of time, to bring the Offender to Tryal and Conviction, is dismissed with little or no satisfaction, unless he be rewarded with the brand of an informing Knave: Surely they who made these Lawes for the benefit of themselves and their own Country, did intend a more current and just passage towards them, than thus to be obstructed and baffled. Such abuses as these made Theodosius say as it is Recorded, that a wise man did himself injustice by hazarding his Wisdome and Estate for the benefit of his Nation; and therefore some have not spared to urge that Customs and Impost, and Toles and Taxes might be taken away from honest laborious hazardous Trades and Adventurers, and be put upon litigious Suits at Law, and such as make benefit of their corrupt breath, that is to say upon such Lawyers as abuse their Clyents, and such malicious Clyents as abuse the name of a just innocent Defendent. Nor is the Loss in these by their Transportation all the injury, but when honest men well affected to the good of their Country, do detect these Caterpillers of the Common-wealth, who make so vast gain, as hath been denoted upon the materials so carefully prohibited, when they do endeavour by due course of Law to make stoppage thereof, and to have the offenders punished; so many are the evasions, such combinations and interest in the Officers, who ought to punish the Offenders; such favour have they in Courts of Justice, and deceptions in the Return of Writs, and in general such affronts and discouragements as the dearest Lover of his Country, or most intrusted in Trade, dares not attempt to prevent that mischief which his eyes behold to fall upon his Nation, or which his own person feels to pick his pocket. Thus far Mr. W. Smith.

To prevent all these inconveniences, it cannot be done without some alteration of some Laws, which is an Act of State; and I do presume his Majesty doth already, and the Parliament will also consider of it; as to accept of any helps that may be contributed to them. In short, I am of opinion, that if four things were done, there would be in a few moneths such an alteration, which, if I should now insert, would be Incredible: yet I shall hint it; 1. To revive some former Act made in Parliament for

a certain season, as in the 4th. of *Hen. 7.* and revived thrice afterwards, which was done upon the same complaint, as now is, which if in force with some alteration, would be one stop: A second is, for all persons to be accomptable for their wool, because there is time after it is bought to be wayed up, and fetched away out of those Countreys, where the danger is for to get acquaintance for those persons, and to give security, as it is, from Port to Port, then being the same danger near the Sea. Thirdly, for *Ireland*, to have it confin'd to convenient Ports, both in *Ireland* and *England*. And when all is done, there must be some persons of known Integrity, and not mercenary men that must have the care and inspection over all. Fourthly, In those Countreys where no Cloathing is, it would be requisite for a Store-house for small parcels of Wool, and a Bond given that none be sold to Foriners which is of so eminent advantage, as is by some said to the *Dutch*, to be profit to the publick, Millions of pounds Sterling per annum; and to instance one case Sir *Walter Rawleigh* accounts by this in his remains, page the 173, and 174. that in one year and half was drawn to the *Hollanders*, *Hamburgers*, and *Embdenors*, at the least two Millions of pounds Sterling, from *England* for Corn, in a time of scarcity in *England*.

And if a Bond is so advantageous for such Commodities that are liable to be much impaired in long lying; it's doubtless abundantly more advantageous in such a stable Commodity as wool is; and if practised would be of such a use to *England*, that I think would enrich *England* more than I will now stand to account.

I may add a fifth, which is, that there may be a short and quick Tryal of Offenders, and that in such place as the Offender may have least opportunity for Evasions.

We will conclude the whole with a short survey of some particular Immunities which Cloathing hath conferred upon *England* with which the glory of it extends to the very utmost inhabited parts of the world, and without which, the Ark of Gods mercy, and the glory of this Land is like to depart.

First, the reducing of Cloathing to *England* in Manufacture as well as in Materials (which must a thousand times repeat *Englands* gratitude to the niemory of that ever renowned King *Edward* the Third) hath produced such opulent and magnificent Societies of Merchants, as the whole world cannot again demonstrate, that is to say, first, the Merchant Adventurers Company, whose Governours, President, Consults, and the like chief Officers are not of less esteem, where they please no feat themselves, then are the Residentiaries of the greatest Princes, and so much the more Cordial is their welcome, as each mans profit leads his affection beyond his Reverence to publick Embassies, because Proximity to a mans personal interest sits nearer in his thoughts then when he is involved in the publick concernment.

This Company hath by their Policy and Order, supplanted those Societies of the Hance Towns (as they are called) who vending an inconsiderable number of Cloaths, and at low rates, did never the less account *England* obliged to them for their Markets and Shipping: Whereas at this day the Merchant Adventurer do utter ten times as many Cloaths Annually in the same Markets at far better prices; And in answer to the shipping which *England* had in those times from those Countreys at dear entertainment, this Trade of Cloathing, and this particular Company of Merchants, have furnished the Navy Royal from time to time, and upon all occasions with such strengths as they have not feared, if they have not awed the greatest Naval Forces sayling upon the Ocean, he that may have the favour to peruse their Records, shall find what oppertune Service they did for their Country in the year Eighty-Eight, and since upon all military occasions wherein this Nation hath been embroyled with any other.

Next, the East-Land Company hath planted the Trade of Cloathing all about the Baltick Seas, which at this day imployes many Warlike Ships, and gives at great increase of Marriners to the no small growth of *Englands* strength at Sea.

The *Muscovia* Company have discovered the passage by the North Cape, and the great Trade of *Greenland*, what wealth occurs to *England* by the *Turky* and *East-India* Company, is not easie to be numbered; their shipping also being as strong, and rich

rich as any that swim upon the Seas. How one of them hath by the trade of Cloathing only engrossed all manner of wealth coming from the *Levant Seas*; And how the other of them hath established the rich Trades of Silks, Spices, Jewels, &c. In the Southern parts of the world, is by all Admired, though by none to be valued, and what strength of shipping these two Companies have produced, as they have been wonderful, so they have been formidable to all Nations: what Contribution the Cloathing Trade with *Spain* and *France* hath given to *England's* maritime power, is by those Countreys themselves feared, as well as by *England* found to its great security: And as these unvaluable blessings have befallen *England* by the Trade of Cloathing, politically and providently drawn into Societies, Companies, and Corporations; so the loose Transactions of Trade in other for the Countreys have rendered them so poor at Sea; as were it not shipping of *England* and *Holland*, the very life of Commerce would perish, would return to the same Wilderness, & uselessness as it is now in *Greenland* and the *West-Indies*, where civil Government hath not once been heard of.

Again, If comparison be made for richness of Trade between Cloathing and any, or all other substances of Merchandises, whereby any Nation, but more especially *England*, may be enriched, neither the Silks nor Furs, nor Wines, nor Spices, nor Bullion it self or all other Countreys can render that account of its own, or can in proportion equalize *England*, in Cloathing, Food, Shipping, Strength of people, and wealth of money.

About

About the Manufacturcing of Wool.

THat this rich Treasure in it self, of far more worth than the Golden Mines of *India to England*, is so much degenerated, or adulterated in the Manufactureing thereof by many of the Manufacturers, some of which wanting skill, others principles of honesty, the Laws in that case being so much neglected in *England*, and want of some new Laws for the new Drapers, hath occasioned the woollen Manufacture to be rendered contemptible both at home and abroad, and so much the more, or the rather, because the *Dutch, Flemings*, (and it is feared in time the *French* also) do by care and industry endeavour to excel our *English*; the consequence is to loose our *English* Trade, and this principally by a liberty taken, so that honest and conscientious persons come to dammage by some others false way of gains, according to Mr. *Childes* third head in that of Trade, and Interest; that the Advantage the *Dutch* have of us in all their Native Commodities is their exactness, by which meanes their credit is so, that it is taken by its contents, (and ours not) which is very advantageous, which is done by the qualifications of those persons that have the oversight, and are intrusted in that affair, which is not done in *England*, but generally the contrary.

In general all States and Common-wealths are supported by two providential works (viz.) Reward and Punishment; for as no Law can compel men to be corporally laborious, or studious in knowledge & literature, unless rewards be annexed to all such compulsion; so no providence can attend the preservation of profitable designs,
either

either in Learning or Trade, unless such punishments be enjoined: This opinion that profound Senator Cicero alledgeth from Solon, one of the seven wise Græcians, and the only man of them which gave Lawes; and this is the weak and frail Estate of men and Nations, that unless they be as well encouraged in their endeavours, as punished in their misdemeanors, they will speedily become Libertines, and ruin all as is too too much feared in this case in England at this day; and as before about the Wool, so the working for the greatest part hath been confined to England this three hundred years, and untill these late years has been so preserved, by the diligence of such Officers as have been ordained and empowered, carefully to see the Manufactures kept under those rules which the Laws have provided for their perfection; and seeing this Nation is by God peculiarised in these two blessings (viz.) Wools and Manufactures, and through the vigilancy of its Monarches safe guarded by Laws, that the native Manufactures might not be undermined by the practices of Foreigners; their ancient providence exacts from the present age the same preservation (as before in the Wool) that the Dutch do not undermine us out of all. Again, we may be taught by their diligence, who though they have few or no native Commodities, yet are rich and thriving; (and we who have all, are poor and decaying at least the Country) who spare no attendance in overseeing and searching the true makeing of their Manufactures as above, for their exactness, giving therefore power and Commissions to persons of more than ordinary worth amongst them (whom they call care or care Masters) to see every thing according to the Law; and wherever they find a defect, they make a default upon the Cloath, which first is recompensed by a fine to the State for abusing the Laws, and afterward remains to admonish the buyer, who thereby may guard his purse; and in case the Cloathier be abused by any of his Work-folks, he checks his damage upon the true offender in his wages. Now in England there is so much the contrary, that many persons take liberty for want of a regular or legal course followed, either for time or forme in working; there is not any of the Relations to Cloathing which doth observe such an exact rule of Apprentiship (which is not the least cause that the Manufactures of Wool are so abusively and deceptionously made in England) notwithstanding it is enjoined in very strict and penal man-

manner by the Statute Lawes; the chief inconveniences of which, is, that the Trade so general in use, and maintenance of even numberless Families, doth by its own vast exorbitancy convert into Corruptions, and so those great multitudes of people become discredited, beggered, and finally ruined, to the destruction of themselves and the Nation which gave them so great a Blessing.

Another prejudice and not the least, is, that the Nation which hath given them being, and invested them with such materials for Cloathing, is dishonoured by false and abusive works: And it is not a little scandal to that Nation which God hath particularly endowed with those blessings which others want, when its people shall divert those good things which God hath bestowed upon it to evil and deceptions practises; In this consideration it is observable (by some) how little comparatively is the Drunkenness of those Countreys which produce Wines, and wherein lies their personal riches, and their Nations Honour, though their other sins may sufficiently swell, their ultimate account; yet doubtless it strengthens their last Apology, in that they abuse not that endowment which God hath made the original of their Being and Subsistence.

Another consideration is, the Cheat it puts upon all the world, for though every Country hath not the benefit of the Manufacture in themselves, yet are there few of them condemned to such ignorance as not to discern the Couzenage which false Cloathing puts upon them, in which case to the aforesaid dishoner they add a curse, and it was a chief care in Jacobs practise for a Blessing, that he turned it not into a Curse; how much more is this of consideration, when the blessing comes by gift, and not by design or procurement.

And further, great may be the thought of heart, when the sins of false Lucre and Covetousness (which is Idolatry) are in full pursuance of such as have the full plenty to make weight and measure, yet make it the Art of their practises as well as the practise of their Art, to Cozen both the wise and weak; It can be no great wonder, nor without abundance of presidents, if God for sins of such wilfulness remove his blessings, (with which this Nation is peculiarly enriched and dignified,) and give them to a people which will render him a better, more just, and more profitable account of his Talent; and its no news, that though England be by the Almighty,
chiefly

chiefly ordained to produce the Materials, yet the Manufactures be given to a people, which will render him a better Account; all this and much more is expected, if the Native people continue to abuse the Native Commodity, as of necessity they must, when they know not how to use it. The wisdom of our Ancestors hath been liberally manifested in this particular. First, That the Manufacturers be constantly made Apprentices for seven years at least, the contrary is one great reason, that by ignorance so many abuses are, that are unremediable: Another reason, why Apprentices are generally confined to seven years servitude, is to the end, that professors (in each Art) multiply not beyond the support of their Trade, which were not to increase good Subjects, but Vagabonds, which doubtless was not the intention of King Edward the 3d. (ever to be remembered by an English man, when in his design in bringing Cloathing to England, a chief part was to multiply his people, as by his Native and Alleageant Subjects (such as by and by you will understand) he might securely possess the Conquests wherewith God had blessed him, which were beyond any Christian Prince's in his time. It is utterly against reason that a Nation can be poor, whose people are numerous, if their Industry be compelled and encouraged, and their Idleness be punished and reformed. It is the opinion of some, that it's not the barrenness of a Countrey which can forbid this Maxim. The Scots are an abounding and numerous people, and they have a soyle which to a Travellers eye, seems to produce nothing towards a so vast maintenance of the body of that people; yet are they in all parts of the world a warlike and honoured Nation, helpful to all Princes in their Wars, and ready upon occasion to return to the Assistance of their Brethren, be their case good or bad. The Dutch are a numerous Nation, daily multiplying in a Country which hath in comparison nothing of its own growth to support them, either in Food or Cloathing, yet they want nothing neither in necessaries or wealth, because they are industrious. What Crick of the Seas do they leave unvisited? and in shipping are so stored as most parts of the world do love or fear them. Now a great increase (at least) of good people (as above hinted in King Edward) rests upon the regulation of Trade; for its not the number of workmen, but number of good workmen which increaseth Families, and it's Families which increaseth and spreadeth good

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people; the other for want of knowledg and skill, being fixed no where, because their labours will not maintain themselves, muchless Families: For who will use a workman, who hath neither skill nor credit, when he can imploy one that hath both?

Of principle importance therefore is the Regulation of Apprentiships, both to the best increase of people, and to the honest, creditable, and wealthy Manufactures of Wool, and especially of Cloathing, (being the Antientst Manufacture) for want of which not only the former denoted faults are daily found in their works, but good work-men are undersold and ruined (as formerly hinted) by bad, and the whole Nation involved in great dishonour, as after you will hear.

Now Justice, which all men cry up, and few practise, is a virtue both divine and humane; Divine Justice is either from God to man, wherein his Providence is his Justice, by which he governeth the world, or it is from man towards God, and then its piety, whereby he returns to God prayse and glory for his numberless blessings in Republicks, Cities and Towns, its Equity, the fruit whereof is Peace & Plenty, in domestick relations between Man & Wife, its Unity and Concord; from Servants to Masters, good Will and Diligence; from Masters to Servants, its Humanity and Gentleness; and from a man to his own body, health and happiness. There is none of all these Relations but is necessary and important to the Reformation in the abuses, defaults, deceptions, and grievances committed upon Cloathing, which in this discourse have in some measure been discovered, and by which both God and man are justly provoked.

The Justice we are to use to relieve the complaints before exhibited, is either distributive, or Commutative; Justice distributive, is to give each man his deserts, whether it be honour or punishment: And Commutative Justice, is in bargaining, bartering, exchanging, or in any transactions between man and man, to use all means to keep Promises, Covenants and Contracts; and for a man to behave himself as he would have others do to him, to receive the Innocent into protection, to repress and punish offenders, without which, common intercourse and humane society must necessarily be dissolved; and for preservation whereof, I have read, that in Antient times, the Fathers have not spared their own Sons.

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The Egyptian Kings, to whom Antiquity gives the priviledge of making Laws, the Græcians, and Romans deified Justice, and would not violate it towards their Enemies; so just also were the Lacedemonians, and so free from distrusting each other, as even for the publick safety, they used neither Locks nor Barrs, insomuch that one asking Archidamus, who those Governours were, which so justly, happily, and gloriously governed the Common-wealth of Lacedemon, he answered, that they were first the Laws, & afterwards the Magistrates executing those Lawes: for Law is the rule of Justice, and Justice the end of the Law, which indeed is the Life of all.

The ready way to rectifie abuses about Cloathing, were to compare them with the rules of the Law provided for them, for which there is Law, (and new Laws where they are wanting) nevertheless holds not in all points. For instance, the Law empowers the Merchants and Drapers to be their own Searchers, and to punish the Cloathiers Purse, as they find his works to be faulty; and so they do, to the no small grief of the Cloathier: but the Retayling-Buyer is not hereby at all relieved; the Draper selling to him these faults, for which he was before paid by the Cloathier; the Merchants do the same, by causing their Cloathiers to bring their Manufactures into the Merchants private Ware-Houses, where their own Servants are Judges, who upon searching the Cloath, do make, and marke faults enough, for which they have reparable abatements; but themselves again do practise all fraudulent wayes they can to barter and exchange those faults away, without giving any allowance for them. I speak not of all but some; and though sometimes they be detected, yet find they means to save their purses, whilst their Nation suffers in honour, and the Laws are vilified to Foreiners, who stain the Justice of the Nation with weakness and fraud. True it is, that in the *Netherlands*, where their cunning is as piercing, as their practice is common, they (even every buyer) do search with diligence, and make themselves reparations, first to the Merchants great loss, and so in course to the Cloathiers no small damage: But in all this, the State remains much dishonoured by the scandal, and rob'd of those Fines which the Lawes

in punishment, do give to the publick Revenue, which if they were rightly and legally attended, would render a vast gain to the Common-wealth by a general Reformation.

Now in finding out the causes why Manufacture in Cloathing becomes so abused, there may be good use of the Drapers and Merchants knowledg and skill; yet the application of the remedy is a work of State and Policy, in making and executing the Laws proportionable to the grievance, in which instance it doth not hold; for though the Merchants and Drapers be able Searchers of the abuses, yet they are not competent reformers of the grievances, because they are interested in participating of those gaines which the faults occasion and intend. Therefore it is requisite that both Cloathiers, Merchants, and Drapers, may be joyned by the Magistrates approbation.

Nor is this all the abuse; for in such parts of the world as the Buyers are not in ability of knowledg, like the *Dutch*, who make Cloaths themselves, and especially in those parts where the difference in Religion is so great, as it is between Christians and Turks, there the corrupt Merchant causeth the Name of God to be Blasphemed: for when those people; (whose eye and judgment gives them not so good information as doth their proof and wearing) do find themselves cheated in their Garments, they presently conclude that there is no fear of God in that place, nor obedience to their Rulers, for Conscience, which must assuredly procure much scandal to Christian Religion.

It hath been noted that the original of money, was from sheep, affirming that the Antient Signature upon money, was a Sheep; and its further observed, that Mercandizes were the cause of money; and there being no greater Merchandize than are from the Sheep, it is evident, that there is nothing more requisite towards the enriching this Nation (whose peculiar blessing rests in Sheep) than strictly to hold the Manufactures to the letter and rule provided for their just making; and that the Laws be unpartially executed; and it being apparent that this Nation cannot be rich without a constant utterance of Cloathing, nor can that be done without a perfect reformation in the particulars of the works.

It doth undeniably follow, that Cloathing must be purged from

from its Corruption, or *England* must be poor. It is therefore the Manufacturers which abuse the Wool, and thereby improvidently give advantage to the *Dutch*: whereas a perfection in the making of Cloaths in *England*, will capacitate the *English* to undersell the *Dutch*.

Now for a true Reformation and Regulation of those damages that have befallen *England*, by the false and deceptive Manufacturing of Wools, and to bring the Trade to its primitive worth; we must rightly understand the cause of those defects, or else we can never prescribe suitable remedies as before, but the contrary; the supposed remedy will be worse than the disease. The principle or grand cause of all our misery, in all these things formerly spoken to both in Transportation of Wool, and the bad Manufacturing thereof, is by that division in Trade, both in Merchant and Cloathier, by which meanes it falls out that by the consequence of one mans single Act, a thousand persons may be undone; this I have observed in several persons in this Kingdome, and I know no way so profitable to prevent (at least some of that mischief) as by incorporating the Manufactures, and faithfulness therein; as witness *Norwich*, and *Colechester*; the misery is the liberty, taken in that which is of necessity a Union, as before by a Law, and more liberty by a Law for some in matters of Conscience, for compulsion can never make that unity as the Law of that Relation doth require, in this as in all others things, *to do to others, as we would have others do unto us*, which is the Royal Law of Heaven. The great and main inducement to these two things, as good reason (if we will have Trade) to observe the *Dutch* in both these things, as not the least cause of their riches, (having nothing of their own growth comparatively with *England*,) yet are a Rich people, and much by our Commodities, whilst we are disputing whether it be good for us: And I cannot pass by what I have heard of the Follies of the *Indians*, that will part with a rich Treasure for a Trifle; so we are to the *Dutch* and *French* by their policies and circumventing practices, which draw from us, and still covet to exhaust the Wealth and Coyne of this Kingdome, and so with one Commodity (as formerly the Wool) to weaken us, and finally
bear.

beat us out of our Trades in other Countreys, and thus they do (especially the *Dutch*) more fully obtain their purposes by their convenient priviledges, and settled constitutions, by which they draw multitudes of Merchants to Trade with them, and many other Nations to inhabit amongst them, which makes them populous; and there they make Store-Houses of all Foreign Commodities, wherewith upon every occasion of Scarcity and Dearth, they are able to furnish Foreigners with plenty of those Commodities, which before in time of plenty they Engrossed & brought home from the same places; which doth greatly augment Power and Treasure to their Stocks, besides the Common Good in setting the Poor on work, as in several particulars mentioned by Mr. Child.

1. By having in their greatest Councils of State and Warr, Trading Merchants that have lived abroad in most parts of the world, who have not only the Theoretical knowledge, but the Practical Experience of Trade; by whom Laws & Orders are contrived, and Peace with Foreign Princes projected, to the great advantage of their Trade.

2. Their Law of Gavel-kind, whereby all their Children possess an equal share of their Fathers Estates after their Decease, and so are not left to wrastle with the World in their Youth, with inconsiderable assistance of Fortune, as most of our youngest Sons of Gentlemen in England are, who are bound Apprentices to Merchants.

3. Their exact making of all their Native Commodities.

4. Their giving great encouragement and immunities to the inventors of new Manufactures, and the discoverers of any new Mysteries in Trade, and to those that shall bring the Commodities of other Nations first in use and practice amongst them, for which the Author never goes without his due reward allowed him at the publick charge.

5. Their contriving and building of great Ships to sayle with small charge, not above one third of what we are at for Ships of the same burthen in England. And compelling their said Ships (being of small force) to sayle alwayes in Fleets, to which in all time of danger they allow a Convoy.

6. Their

6. Their parcimonious and thrifty living, which is so extraordinary, that a Merchant of one hundred thousand pound Estate with them, will scarce spend so much per annum, as one of fifteen hundred pounds Estate in London.

7. The Education of their Children, as well Daughters as Sons, all which, be they of never so great quality or Estate, they always take care to bring up to write perfect good hands, and to have the full knowledge and use of Arithmetick and Merchants Accounts.

8. The lowness of their Customs, and the height of their Excise: which is certainly the most equal and indifferent Tax in the world, and least prejudicial to any people, as might be made appear, were it the subject of this discourse.

9. The careful providing for, and imployment of their poor: which it is easie to demonstrate, can never be done in England comparatively to what it is with them, while it's left to the care of every Parish to look after their own only.

10. Their use of Banks, which are of so immense advantage to them, that some, (not without good grounds,) have estimated the profit of them to the publick, to amount to, at least one Million of pounds Sterling, per annum.

11. ~~Their Toleration of different opinions in matters of Religion~~, by reason whereof, many industrious people of other Countreys, that dissent from the established Government of their own Churches, resort to them with their Families and Estates, and after a few years co-habitation with them, become of the same Common Interest.

12. Their Law-Merchants, by which all controversies between Merchants and Tradesmen are decided in three or four dayes time, and that not at the fortieth part (I might say in many cases not the hundreth part) of the Charge they are with us.

13. The Law that is in use among them for Transference of Bills for debt from one man to another.

14. Their keeping up publick Registers of all Land, and Houses Sold or Mortgaged; whereby many chargeable Law-Suits are prevented, and the securities of Lands and Houses rendered indeed, such as we commonly call them Real Securities.

15. The lowness of Interest of money with them, which in peaceable times exceeds not three per cent. per annum.

To

To Conclude with a short Survey of those things in General, Seeing my time will not permit to enlarge upon ic particularly (according to my purpose) nor so to Correct the former Papers for want of time, being exposed to much Travel, I must humbly beg the Readers pardon for some Errors passing the Press in my absence.

The first thing observed in the Dutch, is to have experienc'd persons in all Councils skil'd, as WelPractical, as Theoretical knowledge, which is without all peradventure of such advantage, that nothing but experience of it can put the value.

The second I shall not touch.

The third I have at large treated (*viz.*) of the advantage in exactness in all Commodities, of which we have sufficient experience at home as well as abroad, that one and the same Commodity for goodness, yet if one have the reputation more than the other, it shall not only have a quick Market, but shall yield 10 or 15 per cent, more than the other. I speak this of what is matter of Fact in the woollen Manufacture in my own knowledge.

The fourth is the Incouragement to those that are any way beneficial to the Publick, which is contrary in England to its shame, as well as to its apparent Losse; hence it is that those persons that are imployed in publick affairs, that have not principles of honesty, are liable to those temptations of Bribery and indirect ~~raunce, being beyond my sphere.~~ *courses for Advantage*

Time permits me not to make any further recapitulation. But for my Language in the whole, the Ingenious peruser will, I trust, rather value my serious Intentions (while I write no matter of Controversy, but what may redound to the Honour and Advantage of his Majesty and Kingdoms) than criticize upon my defect of Scholastick phrase, or Logical method; who being never enriched with opportunities of education thereto, yet have so much of a Christian and true English-man, as to wish every Reader Happiness both here and hereafter. *FINIS.*

ERRATA.

Page 2, l, 15, for Land r, Band; p, 5, l, 27, for is r, by; p, 10, l, 16, insert Advantage of a; p, 14, l, 18, for you r, them; p, 19, l, 15, for Regal r, real; l, 23, for hiasself himself; p, 21, l, 8, for then r, there; l, 15, for bond be given that none be sold to Foreiners r, Bank; l, 25, for Bond Bank; p, 24, l, 7, for Drapers r, Draperies; p, 25, l, 15, for Manufactures r, Manufacturers.

